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Hungarian Proposals Submitted at Paris Forum

LD2206222989 Budapest MTI in English
1950 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian, Austrian and Norwegian delegations to the Paris conference on the human dimension of the European situation put forward a joint motion on the issue of national minorities.

The initiative calls for guaranteeing mother-tongue education for the national minorities and the teaching of their history and culture.

It declares that the governments' decisions on the administrative division of their countries and other measures should not aim at preventing the protection and development of the culture of national minorities. The motion urges that the minorities, their organizations and institutions should be allowed to issue, import, and distribute press publications in their mother tongue. It envisages that the governments should encourage the cultural activity and initiatives of the individuals and organizations of the national minorities to maintain special relations with the countries which have a similar national minority or nations with a similar cultural heritage.

The Hungarian delegation welcomed and supported several other initiatives. It gave particular attention to, and joined as co-author, the French-Soviet motion to create a common European legal region, and compare and analyse the legislatory and legal mechanism and norms.

The Hungarian delegation supported the French and British initiative summing up the principles of a state of law, and expressed its full agreement with the Soviet proposals for improving consular activities and the Czechoslovak, Polish and Bulgarian ideas of facilitating travel conditions. The Hungarian delegation appreciated the activity of the non-governmental human rights organizations and supported as a co-author the motions for facilitating their operation.

Poland's Miodowicz Speaks at Geneva ILO Session

AU2106113889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 15 Jun 89 p 9

[PAP report: "We Are Applying Democratic and Pluralistic Solutions"]

[Text] Geneva—Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] and head of the Polish delegation to the 76th International Labor Conference session, addressed the general debate of this session in Geneva on 14 June. First, he recalled what he had said at the previous, 75th session of this conference. He had said that the Polish model of trade union pluralism requires further development. Today, he said, I can tell you that this development has occurred, and relatively quickly. In fact, the present Polish trade union delegation represents the current pluralistic structure of the trade union movement. Apart from the OPZZ, the movement consists of representatives of "Solidarity" and of two farmers organizations, the National Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and "Rural Solidarity."

Thanks to some bold moves, a new sociopolitical situation is emerging in Poland, marked by an application of democratic and pluralistic solutions. In this way, the nation and all working people are gaining better possibilities of solving their difficult problems and making a greater contribution to the expansion of international society, including an improvement to international trade union cooperation.

At the same time, we are displaying maximum concern for the interests of and a better future for all Poles and for more effective cooperation with other countries, A. Miodowicz said. Nevertheless, we are optimistic about the prospects of cooperation instead of confrontation. The OPZZ has made its contribution to the changes in Poland. The facts are generally known. However, I must stress that in our work, we were guided not by the parochial interests of a few specified groups, but by the general interests of all working people.

The OPZZ, A. Miodowicz continued, was and remains an avowed and consistent spokesman for radical pluralistic transformations in Poland. With this conviction in mind, we brought about the downfall of the previous government, whose policies we considered incompatible with the interests of Polish working people. It is in this spirit that I spoke to my colleague, Lech Walesa, on television. This talk really was a qualitative and psychological breakthrough in our search for pluralistic solutions, also inside the trade union movement. That is why the OPZZ is a determined and consistent defender of the interests and rights of all working people, especially workers, pensioners, women, and young people—in other words, everyone particularly affected by the crisis. Under trade union pluralism, the OPZZ and its member organizations are a considerable force and wish to remain so, shouldering increasingly difficult tasks and commitments. We declare our desire to cooperate with the government in a constructive manner, but we will never abandon our trade union prerogatives if the present government's policies threaten the interests of Polish working people. This also applies to the fate of the work forces of those enterprises closed down for economic reasons.

In this context, we apply particular attention to an effective emergence from the economic crisis; a solution to food, housing, and environmental problems; and a halting of the inflation spiral. We hold a firm stance vis-a-vis prices and wages, especially the question of linking wages to the cost of living index, in other words what we call a cost of living increment. Thus, we are seeing to it that the rapid inflation does not impoverish manual and intellectual workers and pensioners.

Expressing support for most of the assessments and analyses in the reports of the ILO Administrative Council and ILO director general, especially for the need to examine the ILO's role in easing the social and economic effects of the crisis, A. Miodowicz said that the Polish experience also accords great significance to renewal, economic growth, overcoming the crisis, creating new jobs, and insuring a dignified standard of living for working people. We support ILO efforts in this direction, he said. At the same time, we underline yet again the importance of disarmament steps and the importance of converting the output of the defense industry to the manufacture of civilian commodities, in order to create new jobs and overcome unemployment.

Finally, A. Miodowicz reminded the session that 1 September will be the 50th anniversary of Hitlerite Germany's aggression against Poland and the start of World War II. This anniversary is a natural encouragement to think about the past, but also about the present and future. What should working people do to prevent a repetition of this tragedy? It is our great historic mission to find an answer to this question. That is why we are so firmly in favor of even greater cooperation between trade unions, coupled with a respect for the differences in opinion between individual unions. We are also in favor of new cooperation between the main trade union headquarters of the world. We will make our Polish contribution to this historic work, A. Miodowicz concluded.

Delegate Addresses GATT Meeting in Geneva

AU2206175889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1653 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Geneva (AGERPRES) 22/6/1989—Speaking during the debates of a special session of the GATT Council which examined the recent developments in world trade, Romania's representative declared against the recourse to unilateral restrictive practices and measures, the conditioning of trade relations on extra-economic criteria and the exercise of pressures that aim at obtaining economic and political advantages. The speaker mentioned that such manifestations run counter the GATT principles and rules.

People's Assembly Concludes 5th Session

AU2206125089 Tirana ATA in English
1009 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 22 (ATA)—The 5th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly continued its proceedings on June 21, morning, with contributions on the report delivered by Ahmet Kamberi, minister of health, on behalf of the Council of Ministers at the sitting of June 20.

The deputies and the invitees enthusiastically applauded the entry in the hall of the first secretary of the party Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other party and state leaders: Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava.

After the closure of the contributions, the deputies unanimously approved the respective decision.

Then they passed into the second item of the agenda, the approval of the draft law on the dissolution of the Ministry of Energetics and the passing of its activity to the Ministry of Industry and Mining, which is named as the Ministry of Industry, Mining, and Energetics.

After this, the deputies unanimously approved the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, said, among others, in his closing speech that the important problems examined in this session of the People's Assembly became, first of all, subject of discussion of the deputies in the meetings with the people in the base, and in the permanent commissions of the People's Assembly where the organs of the state administration reported and rendered account.

Owing to the correct policy of the party and the measures adopted by the people's power, just like in all fields of life, in that of the protection and strengthening of the people's health major successes have been achieved in all directions. The demographic processes go on well and the physical and intellectual abilities of the people, the younger generation in particular, are marking improvements.

This is the year of the great events. During the coming days the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania will be held, and we are on the threshold of the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. In this framework, we are sure that fresh successes in all fields of life will be marked, incessantly strengthening the invincible unity of our people with the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

The 5th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly successfully wound up its proceedings.

Professor Lazari Speaks on Balkan Cooperation

AU1606194789 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
4 Jun 89 pp 14-15

[Lecture by Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, delivered at a meeting of the German Foreign Policy Association in Bonn on 17 May: "Balkan Cooperation and Its Prospects"]

[Text] The problems of the Balkans, or, let us rather say, the processes of evolution now taking place in the region, have begun to assume a prominent place in the media, in different political discussions, and in the daily activities of international diplomacy.

This interest is natural and justified. The Balkans, where our ancient culture was born, a bridge linking Europe and the Orient, the border that divided the Eastern and Western Empires and also marked the area of their centuries-long confrontation, has had and perhaps still does have a specific weight of a special kind in the balance of Europe. I say of a special kind, because this weight is not in direct proportion to the size of its population, its economic potential, its military strength, or even the level of its scientific awareness or its mastery of the technology that now exerts such a strong influence on world political and social developments.

This specific weight lies more in the great and vital energies of its peoples, in the major political responsibilities they bear, and in the geostrategic position of the Balkans, all of which have made the inhabitants of the Balkans ever-present and unavoidable factors in determining the historical destiny of Europe.

Now, when new and unusual situations have arisen on our continent and in the world, and when new ideas and solutions in the field of international relations are being sought in order to overcome confrontations, conflicts, quarrels, and contentions of various kinds, it is natural to ask what the role of the Balkans should be, or, we would rather say, what its contribution should be towards strengthening peace and general security and reinforcing cooperation and understanding among peoples.

I have no intention of putting forward a common Balkan opinion here, for no such thing exists. However, even if it did exist, I would make no claim and would not dare to speak for others. I wish merely to describe the views,

hopes, and efforts of the people of my country, their political thinking, their assessment of the current situation in our region, and their vision of its future.

Historically, many problems have accumulated in the Balkans. Much mistrust and misunderstanding, and many emotional and historical burdens have been inherited from the past. The history of the Balkans has been extremely tragic. Its peoples, who once united to cast off the Ottoman yoke, have also killed and slaughtered each other. There has been rude interference on the part of others, and the consequences of the cold war have been very serious.

All these factors have created sensitive relations and an equilibrium that can at certain times be upset, even without the Balkan countries themselves wishing it. These facts are well known, and the problem today is not to identify them. The question is how to solve these problems and how to overcome misunderstandings and conflicts: through violence and confrontation, or dialogue and understanding; to the benefit of one side alone, or in the general interest.

The Albanians have been constant and unchanging in their desire that the Balkan countries should close once and for all the bygone chapters of their historical relations, and to open fresh chapters, in which a new history of friendship, understanding, and general cooperation will be written, a history worthy of these ancient peoples who have lived for centuries alongside each other, who have learned so much from each other, and who have yet been so much divided among themselves.

Times have now changed. We are no longer living in the last century, nor at the beginning of the present one. Much old-fashioned thinking has been overcome, and new political concepts have been created. People no longer want conflict and strife. They want to work quietly and live in peace.

The question of the coexistence of countries with different political and social systems has, in theory, been solved to the extent that different allegiances are no longer considered an obstacle that prevents peoples from living in peace and friendship with each other and cooperating in many fields to their mutual benefit, especially in areas where they have common and indistinguishable interests. The problem is how to realize in practice this coexistence which we all desire and consider feasible.

When we stress the need to achieve understanding, create trust, and expand cooperation among Balkan countries, it is not a matter of signing sensational treaties and agreements for large-scale political and economic integration; it is a question of contacts, dialogue, and initiatives whose aim is to strengthen freedom, independence, and general security, by destroying those barriers, both old and new, which prevent peoples, states, and individuals from drawing closer to each other.

If we proceed from the inviolable principles of the preservation of sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and the right of every people to decide its own destiny in a sovereign fashion, there is no reason why different countries should not reach an understanding and cooperate with each other.

As far as our country is concerned, Albania has shown, not only with words, but in all its international activity, that it adheres rigorously to these principles. Albania has been and remains in favor of good neighborliness with all adjacent countries, in favor of deepening mutual respect and friendship among peoples, and of inaugurating fruitful economic cooperation and the extensive exchange of cultural values, technology, and science. Albania takes as its starting point, the conviction that such developments in relations are in the interests, not only of the peoples of the Balkans, but of the security in the Mediterranean and Europe, which is the concern of all the other peoples in this large region.

Just as Albania has guaranteed neighboring countries that no harm will ever come to them from her, she has also asked that other countries should pursue a similar policy toward herself. Albania has asked that the Balkan countries should not allow their allies and friends to operate against any neighboring country from their own territories.

—Albania is content with its own territory and does not aspire to that of others.
—Albania has not entered into any international military commitment that could oblige it to act against others in the interests of third parties.
—There are no foreign troops, bases, arms depots, and so forth on Albanian territory.
—Albania has not granted transit rights through her territory to foreign troops or military equipment, in war or peace.
—Albania does not permit any kind of activity to the detriment of neighboring countries on her territory.
—Albania does not provide shelter for people who are wanted for criminal activities in other countries.
—Albania has prohibited warmongering propaganda by law.

In order to preserve these principles and to keep this policy intact, Albania left the Warsaw Pact and has joined no association of this kind.

This is Albania's tangible contribution to strengthening security in the region and in Europe, and to the general peace.

For us Albanians, neighborliness has never been a mere geographic expression, in the limited sense that we live in the same region as another people. We consider neighborliness to be a relationship involving not only a similar historical destiny and common interests, but also

many mutual obligations. Every state or nation holds its destiny in its own hands. However, in the intensive relations that have risen in the world, it is also responsible for the fate of others.

Any kind of deterioration, destabilization, or turbulence in the situation in one country also harms other countries. History has shown that not only large countries, but small ones also, can destroy peace. We therefore desire that a situation and atmosphere should exist in the Balkans that will help to consolidate the freedom, independence, and progress of each country individually and all these countries together, a situation that will help to strengthen peace and security not only in the Balkans, but in Europe and throughout the world.

The current situation in the Balkans involves prominent and crucial political problems. One of these is the allegiance of some Balkan countries to NATO and the Warsaw Pact, a fact that has brought the rivalry and confrontation of the superpowers to the Balkan peninsula, with all the consequences these entail.

These negative factors cannot be ignored or explained away. Until they are eliminated, the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the Balkan peoples will remain under threat.

Many ideas and projects have been put forward and many initiatives have been taken, to overcome the problems that the existence of military blocs and their policies have caused, not only in the Balkans, but in Europe also. Some of these have been constructive, but there have also been others whose aim has been to maintain the status quo, and which have run counter to the aspirations of the peoples to live in genuine peace and security, to eliminate wars, and to rescue mankind from the catastrophes wars bring.

As for Albania, we have always been in favor of the total dissolution of blocs, the removal of military bases from national territories, and the withdrawal of troops from other countries. Every initiative pointing in this direction has Albania's full support. Every step that helps to achieve this goal is welcome.

A particular and highly delicate and sensitive problem for the Balkans has been that of the ethnic minorities that live in each of its countries. This is a legacy of history, and a matter specific to the region. It influences, and to a large extent determines, the whole atmosphere and situation in the peninsula. It would be nice if this were otherwise, but this is the reality.

However, when we talk of being realistic, we do not mean fatalistic. Ways exist to solve the problem of the minorities in the Balkans, and these paths are not closed. Of course, when we mention such paths, we are not thinking of uniting these minorities with nation states. Alterations of national borders cannot be contemplated. If we start from this premise, we can then find the policies and practices that will transform the minorities from divisive and disruptive factors, to factors for rapprochement and friendship among the peoples.

Bearing history and reality in mind, and using sound reasoning and a desire to move forward rather than back, we believe that the problem of the minorities in the Balkans can be solved, not through segregation or through attempts to change their national character and to assimilate them, as is still the practice in some countries, but through their general emancipation, including their national emancipation, through preserving their identities and distinctive characteristics, their ethnopsychological features, their cultural heritage, and their historical traditions. Moreover, normal exchanges with the nations to which they belong would free the ethnic minorities from their minority and isolation complexes, and from their narrow political and cultural horizons. Conducting relations in such a way would not make them any less loyal as citizens of the countries in which they live, or less honest subjects of the states to which they belong. On the contrary, it would help to create a healthy political and social atmosphere in the country, and would promote the harmony, togetherness, friendship, and unity of the peoples who live in every country which has minorities.

Such a policy has been pursued toward the small Greek minority in Albania. The results, and the life of the minority itself, testify to the justice and realism of such a policy, and the prospects it offers. Without covering all its aspects, let it suffice to mention that a correct attitude toward this minority has helped, among other things, in the positive and comprehensive development of Albanian-Greek relations.

We would like such a democratic solution, with the guarantee of equal national, political, economic, and cultural rights, the free development of historical traditions, and the preservation of a way of life, for the Albanians in Kosovo, whose position at the moment is extremely serious.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, because noninterference in internal affairs constitutes one of the abiding and fundamental principles of Albania's foreign policy. Albania has also not interfered because it desires the stability of Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and Europe. This is not a propaganda slogan, but a standpoint based on political common sense. The destabilization of Yugoslavia, and the possible interference of others in the developments which would ensue, would involve dangers for neighboring Albania also, to pursue matters no further.

If we have mentioned what is happening to the Albanians in Kosovo, we have done so not simply because we are Albanians and because we have the right to raise our voice when they are persecuted, discriminated against,

and oppressed, but because Yugoslav policy toward Kosovo helps neither its own stability, which we all desire, nor Balkan cooperation, which we likewise all desire.

Socialist Albania has said that it is ready to help Yugoslavia as much as it can, but not at the expense of Kosovo. That would solve nothing, for it would be a step which, apart from anything else, would run counter to the realistic and objective solutions that are necessary in order to overcome Yugoslavia's crises. The flames would not be extinguished. The fact is that the sparks of interethnic conflict are spreading from Kosovo throughout Yugoslavia, and that a question mark stands over the national and democratic rights not only of the Albanians, but of other peoples also.

It has now been demonstrated that the problem of Kosovo cannot be solved without the Albanians, and still less in the teeth of the Albanians. Moreover, Yugoslavia's other problems cannot be solved in this way either.

There are almost 3 million Albanians in Yugoslavia. They have lived for centuries in a compact territory, and have their ancient and indigenous culture, language, and traditions. In terms of numbers, they constitute the third largest people after the Serbs and the Croats, and are a constitutive element in the SFRY, as the Constitution itself states. The Yugoslav media may use many and varied terms for them—nation, nationality, ethnic group, minority, people, population, and so on. This does not change this reality.

The Albanians cannot be considered a minority in Yugoslavia. In relation to whom are they a minority? In relation to the Slovenes, Macedonians, Croats, or Montenegrins? If they are a minority in relation to the Serbs, then the Croats, Slovenes, and other peoples of Yugoslavia are also minorities. Reality must be viewed realistically. Changing names does not alter or solve anything.

Yugoslav legislation itself has hitherto not viewed or identified the Albanians as a minority, but as a nationality in themselves; this has been expressed in Yugoslav constitutional law, which puts them on an equal footing with other subjects of the Yugoslav Federation. The recent amendments to the Serbian Constitution, which the Albanians opposed, strike at this very right and practice. This is where the injustice begins; the interethnic conflicts and strife have their origin here, and are fanned by the divisive and destructive factors which have caused the Balkan peoples so much suffering.

The vocabulary of politics and diplomacy includes the term "balkanization." Its primary meaning refers to endless quarrels and conflicts on ethnic lines between states. In its secondary meaning, it refers to the interference of the great powers in such events, and the risk of their transformation into an international conflict. However, "balkanization" can occur within a multiethnic state, such as Yugoslavia, because its seeds have not disappeared, and can take root and flourish at any time, when suitable conditions arise.

From this starting point, and not wishing interethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia to worsen, for this would not be in the interest either of the country itself or that of its neighbors, we have said that the problems that have arisen must be treated with political tact, realism, and objectivity, and that a proper conception of the future is required, rather than a backward glance. The bitter historical past can provide us with lessons, but not solutions.

There are also other misunderstandings in the Balkans, less acute than those we have mentioned, but which also create substantial difficulties. However, this should not lead us to despair, or allow us to retreat. There are plenty of instances and examples to show that problems can be solved with goodwill, patience, and persistence.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has embarked on the process of Balkan cooperation, which began with the meeting of Balkan foreign ministers in Belgrade, and which has by now taken substantial steps forward.

Surveying the period since the Belgrade foreign ministers meeting at Belgrade last year, and also since the meetings of deputy foreign ministers in Sofia and Tirana this year, we cannot fail to point out the positive steps that have been taken toward bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The results achieved so far permit us to affirm that the start of this process has been promising, not least for the reason that the Balkan countries are now persuaded of the usefulness and value of this cooperation.

Bearing in mind the past in the Balkans, with all the emotional burdens inherited from history, the political and ideological allegiances of the different Balkan countries, and the situations these have given rise to, the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries and the activities that have followed, offer great encouragement and are an incentive to build on this beginning, however strenuous it may have been.

The tangible results achieved so far are encouraging. We may say that a climate has been created that favors Balkan cooperation in areas where it is possible.

If this climate is preserved, and it can only be preserved by joint efforts, the process of Balkan cooperation will justify all the attention which public opinion both in the Balkans and the world at large has devoted to it.

Albania has been at pains to create an atmosphere that offers the best possible conditions for improving the situation in the Balkans, and surmounting the obstacles that stand in the way of increased, stronger, and more secure cooperation.

Albania will also work in this spirit, and with this conviction, in its preparations for the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, to be held in Tirana next year. Albania will work for this meeting, not only with goodwill, but with the conviction that, as President Ramiz Alia said at the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, "If the political will and a sincere desire for cooperation exist, and if obligations toward neighbors and the vital common interests these involve are properly appreciated, ways will also be found to overcome the present difficulties and tensions in the Balkans, with the creation of the spirit of mutual trust that is so essential, with firmer understanding, and the establishment of genuine good neighborliness."

The Albanian view is that we must start our advance by solving the simplest problems first, then tackle more complicated ones, that we should begin with the most urgent problems, then move on to those that are next in line, and that we should settle those issues on which we all agree, and then proceed to those over which there is more disagreement.

Although the political problems of the Balkans stem from the general situation in the region, they are overwhelmingly bilateral issues; overcoming them therefore demands, first of all, the political will, tact, and efforts of the parties directly concerned. Albania has sincerely welcomed every step that has been taken toward improving bilateral relations among Balkan countries, or initiatives that aim at this, such as, for instance, the agreement reached between Greece and Turkey at Davos.

If we were to attempt to describe the point which the process of Balkan cooperation has now reached, we would say that there now exists a significant awareness of the existence of our essential common interests and the obligations these entail, an awareness that stability, peace, and security in the Balkans as a whole and in each of its countries individually are [word illegible]. It is, of course, the duty of the Balkan countries to work toward this. However, this stability is also in the general good, because, in the Balkans just as in Europe, the peace, security, progress, and prosperity of each country require a fertile international climate that is responsive to mutual interests. Therefore, every positive contribution toward strengthening this climate is of use and value to all sides concerned.

Zhivkov Departs for Working Visit to Moscow

AU2306074289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, departed for a short, working visit to Moscow this morning.

At Sofia Airport he was seen off by members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee, as well as by deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and representatives of the USSR Embassy in Sofia.

[Sofia BTA in English at 0722 GMT reports the above, adding that "Todor Zhivkov is scheduled to return to Sofia tonight."]

Turks Allege Soviet Backing for Expulsions

PM2206162089 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 22 Jun 89 p 12

[Andrew Finkel report: "Moscow 'Sanctions' Bulgaria Expulsions"]

[Text] Istanbul—Highly-placed Turkish officials suspect that the Soviet Union may be sanctioning the expulsion from Bulgaria of its ethnic Turkish population. So far 53,000 refugees have crossed into Turkey and hundreds of thousands more are expected.

Turkish officials note that in private their Soviet contacts no longer express concern over the situation.

In public, the Soviet and other Eastern bloc ambassadors were notably absent from a meeting yesterday when Mr Ozal, the Turkish Prime Minister, addressed the Ankara heads of missions and repeated his call for a refugee agreement.

President Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria is now on his way to Moscow.

Why the Russians should be backing Bulgaria, apart from solidarity with an ally, is not clear. One explanation given is that it is a lesson to Turkey and the West in general not to interfere in the bitter ethnic politics raging in the Eastern bloc.

The timing of Turkey's criticisms gives them additional weight. Turkish-Soviet commercial relations are at an all-time high.

This week a branch of the Soviet Union's Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs opened in Istanbul. Turkish firms are hoping to win important construction contracts across the border.

At the moment Turkey appears to have no other leverage over Bulgaria than to appeal to international opinion. Commentators have made much of the irony that Turkey's moral authority to rouse indignation for the plight of the Bulgarian Turks has suffered by its own, albeit far less radical, policies of cultural assimilation against those claiming Kurdish identity within Turkey.

Ganev Holds News Conference on Ties With Turkey

AU2206184889 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 22 Jun 89

["On Bulgaro-Turkish Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—The processes of renewal in Bulgaria create sound conditions for the normalization and stabilization of Bulgaro-Turkish relations, said Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, speaking at a press conference here today. In this connection, he recalled the recent statements concerning these issues made by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. Bulgaria favours a dialogue as long as no preconditions are set, Mr Ivan Ganev said. A dialogue can be conducted on the basis of respect for each other's interests and sovereignty, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and in compliance with the responsibility which the two countries bear for the processes in Europe and in the Balkans.

At the same time Mr Ivan Ganev indicated that Bulgaria's actions in fulfilment of the international accords have met with a negative response from certain circles, mainly in neighbouring Turkey. Saying that in the past, too, Turkey had taken action contravening the spirit of good-neighbourliness and, in a number of cases, grossly violating the modern international standards, the principles and accords of Helsinki, Madrid and Vienna, such as their part concerning terrorism, Mr Ivan Ganev stressed that this policy line became particularly characteristic of Turkey's foreign policy in the period following the 1980 military coup. "Pan-Turkism took the upper hand in the Turkish foreign policy. Turkey intensified its claims on its neighbours. The attempts to incite religion-based intolerance became more frequent. The so-called protection of Muslims is nothing but a disguise of territorial designs. What all these actions share in common is a desire to destabilize neighbouring countries and, in this case, Bulgaria," Mr Ivan Ganev said.

Further on, the Bulgarian deputy minister noted in his statement at the press conference that recently the Turkish side has been levelling threats at Bulgaria to the effect that she will be taught a "lesson", that Bulgaria will be wiped off from the political map. Groundless accusations and threats have been made against Bulgaria, military ones included, and by Turkish officials in a position of high responsibility at that, Mr Ivan Ganev went on to say.

Mr Ivan Ganev indicated further on that for the sake of the good relations between the two countries, in the past Bulgaria has passed over in silence a number of cases of interference in her internal affairs, including espionage and subversive activity. He noted that the competent Bulgarian authorities possess irrefutable evidence of the direct involvement of representatives of the Turkish state in subversive activity in Bulgaria, which has sometimes resulted in acts of terror. He cited as an example the terrorist acts in the 1983-1987 period, in which eight peaceful civilians were killed and another 52 were injured.

Dwelling on the national minority issue, Mr Ivan Ganev indicated that ever since Bulgaria and Turkey have existed as sovereign states, this issue has been treated in their contractual relations solely as an issue concerning the Bulgarian minority in Turkey. "But throughout the years of this existence, even in the periods of improved relations, Ankara has been pursuing a definite goal. It tried to speculate with the moods and feelings of the Bulgarian citizens on a religious basis," Mr Ivan Ganev said. He indicated that "having failed to stir up tensions by terrorism, certain circles in Turkey have apparently sought other means of interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs." In this connection, he recalled the riots which flared up in a number of Bulgarian population centres between May 20 and 27, 1989, during which seven people were killed and 28 were injured.

Mr Ivan Ganev said that the policy of the ruling circles in Ankara towards the Bulgarian citizens who wished to exercise their right to leave the country and to return is one of the attempts to take advantage of the processes of bringing the Bulgarian legislation and practice into line with the Vienna accords. Giving a reason for this position of Turkey, Mr Ivan Ganev pointed out that in that country "there are interested circles who want to use the events they fan up in Bulgaria for dubious ends." These circles, Mr Ivan Ganev said, are well aware that for a long time they won't be able to take even a single step forward along the road of their country's democratization.

As announced at today's press conference, 46,000 Bulgarian Muslims have left for Turkey since the adoption of the new Foreign Travel Passports Act. Mr Georgi Yordanov, chief of the Passport Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, said that a total of 250,000 applications for travel to Turkey had been filed.

In this connection, Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, categorically dismissed the accusation against the Bulgarian Government to the effect that it is allegedly "deporting its citizens from the country." He recalled that the newly adopted Bulgarian legislation is the same for all. It grants privileges to no one and has neither selective nor temporary character and guarantees every Bulgarian citizen the right to travel wherever he wishes.

At the same time, Mr Ivan Ganev expressed concern over the fate of those who are leaving for Turkey. "Giving in to Turkish propaganda, mainly on a religious basis, to the threats of extremist-minded agents, they are taking a leap in the dark," Mr Ivan Ganev said. In this connection, some facts were disclosed at the press conference about the pressure brought to bear by certain extremist-minded Bulgarian Muslims on their fellow-citizens seeking to make them leave for Turkey. This pressure goes as far as threats, arsons and attempted murder.

Mr Ivan Ganev further discussed the "bilateral agreement" issue raised by Turkey. He recalled that Bulgaro-Turkish relations are built on the agreement in principle between Mr Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian head of state, and Turkey's president, Mr Kenan Evren, of February 27, 1982 to drop the emigration issue from bilateral relations due to its termination.

"We have already indicated," Mr Ivan Ganev said, "that we do not consider such an agreement necessary, either to settle the issues of reuniting separated families or to settle the issue of foreign travel. The international norms and national legislation provide all opportunities to settle the issues, including those related to movable and immovable property," Mr Ivan Ganev said.

"Everyone should be free to decide whether to leave for some country and whether he or she will seek a short-term stay or permanent residence there. The so-called emigration agreement is an anachronism as at present it would imply in practice to restrict the freedom of movement of the individual, his right to a free choice. Due to this we discern dubious intentions at the bottom of the emigration agreement thesis. We want that our relations with all countries, Turkey included, should develop on the basis of integrity," Mr Ivan Ganev said in conclusion.

Government Officials Speak

AU2306111389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Excerpts] A news conference was held at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture today on some topical problems of the Bulgaria's Balkan policy and on Bulgarian-Turkish relations. Bulgarian television is currently recording the news conference. Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, made an introductory statement. [passage omitted]

Yordano Ormankov, spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Atanas Atanasov, deputy public prosecutor, answered questions related to the disruption of public order and the current investigations of such cases.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified first speaker] I am reporting the data available to me at about 0800 on 22 June, today.

At the present moment the Main Crime Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its sub-divisions on the territory of the republic are conducting investigations in 33 preliminary legal proceedings, in which 49 persons are indicted. Some of these people have been arrested. However, this is a changeable figure, we do not have [passage indistinct].

These 49 people are indicted in accordance with the Penal Code of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for crimes against the administrative order.

Recently, prosecutors' offices all over the country and the Chief Prosecutor's Office have been receiving numerous petitions, tips, applications, and reports on people who are putting pressure on others in connection with Bulgarian Muslims traveling to Turkey. I must tell you that there have been actual cases of houses being set on fire belonging to people who do not wish to leave the country. In a specific case, a son set his father's house on fire. [words indistinct] There have been cases of attempted assassinations. Such cases have occurred between married couples: A husband attacked his wife, who does not wish her passport picture taken, who does not wish to apply for a passport, and to leave. There are certain cases of entire families in hiding. These families are leaving the areas which are densely populated with [words indistinct] and are going to other parts of the country. I will point out specific cases of families hiding in Mikhaylovgrad Okrug.

I would like to cite a letter which was received at the Prosecutor's Office, addressed to the chief prosecutor, in order to illustrate what I am saying. I will read this letter, which is quite brief, but for understandable reasons I will not give the name of the sender and the person's place of residence. The name of the place it was sent from is indicated at the back of the envelope:

Comrade Public Prosecutor, this is a 17-year-old girl who writes to you. I have a passport, which was given to me by my father. He is a Muslim and his family wishes to leave for Turkey. I do not wish to do so, and at the moment I am in hiding. I pray to answer me, [words indistinct]. Even to you I do not dare to reveal the address at which you can find me. I am resolved at all costs not to leave for Turkey. Could you answer me [word indistinct], because I am still afraid.

The freedom and integrity of the individual is guaranteed in our country by the Constitution. Every encroachment on the freedom and will of the individual, any illegal action against the individual is to be punished according to the Penal Code. The Penal Code contains quite specifically defined paragraphs which provide sanctions, including prison terms amounting to 3 years and even more, for people who forcibly try to compel another person to commit, or to suffer an [word indistinct] action against his will. In addition to this, the Penal Code provides for sanctions for threats of assassination, threats of and preparations for arson attacks, damage and destruction of buildings, equipment, agricultural goods, and [word indistinct].

[Unidentified second speaker] I must report that there have been victims also among the security forces. A considerable number of these forces have suffered severe injuries which are dangerously threatening their lives and health. Some of those who were injured are still undergoing hospital treatment.

As a law-governed state, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, under the supervision and leadership of the Prosecutor's Office of the Armed Forces, will conduct investigations led by military prosecutors, for each specific case of death of a civilian person caused by a member of the security forces. Preliminary investigations are underway. They have not been concluded, and in accordance with the regulations of our Penal Procedural Code, I have not received the authorization of the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office to publicly disseminate the data collected during the investigation.

As soon as the investigation is concluded, the results will be released. [end recording]

Bulgarian Attache in Nicosia Criticizes Plan

NC1606193087 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 1630 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Mikhail Blagoev, Bulgarian Embassy press attache in Nicosia, has stressed that Rauf Denktas' statement asking Bulgarian Muslims leaving their country for Turkey to settle in Famagusta runs contrary to and violates the relevant Security Council and UN General Assembly resolutions on the Famagusta issue.

In an interview with our station, Blagoev repeated that Bulgaria disapproves of every secessionist act that violates the UN resolutions and decisions and creates additional problems. Blagoev mentioned that in serving certain expediencies Turkey has stirred up a nonexistent issue and created an artificial problem. He also said that there should be dialogue for its settlement and that tension in the two countries' relations should be avoided.

Party Daily Carries Cypriot Student's Letter

AU2206123789 Sofia BTA in English 1144 GMT 22 Jun 89

["Open Letter to Turgut Ozal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—"Your anti-Bulgarian tactics are in fact antihuman. It is not much different than Turkey's tactics in Cyprus of the past 30 or 40 years", wrote Cypriot student Petros Teoharidis in an open letter to Turgut Ozal published in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

He recalls the tragedy of the 200,000 Cypriots who were driven away from their homes in 1974 by the Turkish Army and denounces Turgut Ozal's "concern" over the rights of the Bulgarian Muslims.

"In my opinion, Mr Ozal, you were the least mistaken when you spoke of the 'tragedy' of the Bulgarian Muslims of recent days. Their tragedy is yet to come. It will happen soon on Turkish land, when they won't serve your anti-Bulgarian propaganda and you forget all about them completely. That's when the real tragedy will begin", the letter goes.

"Well, you seem to have found a 'motherland' for these people", notes Petros Teoharidis in connection with the information about Turkey's intentions to settle the Bulgarian Muslims who go there in Famagusta. Petros Teoharidis called attention to the fact that this Cyprian town occupied by Turkey is now called Magussa and for 15 years the only living beings there have been mice.

TRUD carries a dispatch by Cypriot journalist Kiryakos Kiryakou in which he wrote about the indignation roused in Cyprus by the latest provocative statements made by Rauf Denktas, who out of "humane" considerations suggested to give up Famagusta and settle there the Bulgarian Muslims who leave their mother country.

'Objective' Turkish Reporters Face Difficulties

AU2206115789 Sofia BTA in English 1120 GMT 22 Jun 89

["Turkish Journalists and the Anti-Bulgarian Campaign"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—In a despatch for the TRUD daily Stefan Solakov, special correspondent of the SOFIA PRESS Agency to the human rights conference in Paris, comments on the positions of some of his Turkish colleagues expressing opinions differing from those of the official circles in Ankara. "What have we come to? Do you remember our friendly talks and disputes several years ago, and now we wonder what to say to each other," these had been the words of the correspondent of a large Turkish newspaper when they shook hands with Solakov.

Dwelling on the serious difficulties experienced by the objective Turkish journalists when they have to comment the Bulgaro-Turkish relations, the correspondent of SOFIA PRESS points out that they must resort to verbal equilibristics, almost to Aesopean language, in order not to differ from the common anti-Bulgarian choir and at the same time to try to warn of the danger from the deepening crises in the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey.

In support to his conclusion Stefan Solakov quotes several examples of the recent days:

With good reason the political observer of CUMHURIYET, Ali Sirmen expresses alarm over the fact that the Muslims coming from Bulgaria are getting only encouraging speeches from the Turkish Government for the time being. According to him a heavy social drama is outlining already and it can doom to beggar's existence tens of thousands of people. Political shortsightedness, this is the assessment of the journalist for the line of the Turkish Government.

The correspondent of MILLIYET in Brussels, Mehmed Ali Biran calls on the Turkish Government and on some of his "yellow" colleagues not to go to extremes with the dubious sensations prepared especially for the western newspapers. "No one in Europe anymore believes to the allegations about mass executions of Muslims in Bulgaria, as well as about people setting themselves ablaze as a sign of protest against the Bulgarian authorities," warns Birand.

According to Gunter Mengi of SABAH the government of Turgut Ozal has decided to win home policy dividends putting down the stakes on the anti-Bulgarian campaign.

Allegations Against Healthcare Breaches Denied

AU2206210789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Evgeni Apostolov, chief state public health inspector and deputy minister of the Minister of Public Health and Social Welfare, has sent a letter to Dr Hirosio Nakajima, director general of the World Health Organization in Geneva, that draws attention to the fact that various mass media agencies in Turkey are disseminating improbable accusations against the Bulgarian health service. The precise charges are that Bulgarian citizens, directly before traveling from Bulgaria to Turkey, are being inoculated with a vaccine that contains a virus that causes sterility in young girls, or a virus that may later lead to death. This slanderous concept is also being disseminated personally by the Turkish minister of health. We categorically repudiate such accusations, the letter states, which are politically motivated.

The leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare announces that, up until the end of May, all Bulgarian citizens departing for countries with infected zones were required to have an immunization against cholera and yellow fever and preventative medical treatment for malaria. These measures are in conformity with the requirements of the World Health Organization.

Since 1 June, obligatory vaccination against cholera was abolished. No vaccine is known to medical circles in our country that causes sterility in young girls, or any virus that later leads to death.

As far as the medical services for persons who have requested it and who are leaving for the Republic of Turkey are concerned, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare has organized and is providing trouble-free and highly qualified medical aid.

The letter emphasizes that Bulgaria is ready at any time to receive WHO experts in order to check on these essentially unscientific and slanderous accusations and to offer full assistance for their work in Bulgaria. In this manner, the complete absurdity of these accusations will be proved.

Please, states the letter in conclusion, arrange for this information to be brought to the attention of all member countries of the World Health Organization.

Mladenov Receives Armenian SSR Church Official

AU2106182689 Sofia BTA in English
1725 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 21 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, today received Mr Stepan Vartanyan, chairman of the Committee for Affairs of the Armenian Church with the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

At the meeting which passed in friendly atmosphere, the guest, who is paying a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed thanks to the Bulgarian Government for all facilities ensuring the free functioning of the Armenian churches in Bulgaria.

Spanish Envoy Hosts EEC Lunch for Mladenov

AU2206185289 Sofia BTA in English
1656 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—A luncheon was given today for Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, by Mr Joaquin Perez Gomez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Spain to Bulgaria, in his capacity as representative to the People's Republic of Bulgaria of the country which holds the presidency of the European Community.

The occasion was attended by the ambassadors of Belgium, the United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, Portugal, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the Netherlands.

In a friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged views on the new favourable trends in the development of inter-European relations and on the prospects for a new period of detente in our common European home.

At their request, Mr Petur Mladenov briefed the ambassadors on the topical questions which Bulgaria's foreign policy is solving at this stage. The minister of foreign affairs emphasized that Bulgaria favours the promotion of civilised and humane relations of peace and cooperation with all European countries, which can be achieved if all states on the continent unite their efforts actively and constructively.

The sides considered topical aspects of cooperation between Bulgaria and the European Community. The Bulgarian side stressed the importance it attaches to an early completion of the talks on the trade and economic cooperation agreement with the EC. The ambassadors of the EC member countries, who attended the occasion, reaffirmed the earnest intentions of their countries and of the community as a whole to work for the promotion and expansion of relations and cooperation with Bulgaria on the basis of good will and mutual benefit, which is consistent with the interests of the European peoples and with the present stage in the implementation of the principles of new political thinking in Europe.

IATA Director Praises 'Economic Stability'

AU2206114989 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Jun 89 p 2

[Petur Moev article: "IATA Supports the Establishment of Uniform World Common Market"]

[Excerpts] The International Air Transport Association [IATA] with its headquarters in Montreal, Canada, has 186 members from 116 countries. As is known, at the end of 1988 it admitted the "Balkan" Air Company to its ranks. In addition to the international recognition of our air company's authority, membership in IATA also carries other privileges, without which any air company would find it difficult to exist. [passage omitted]

Less than 10 months after the "Balkan" Air Company was admitted to IATA, Guenther Esser, IATA general director is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the "Balkan" Bulgarian Civil Aviation State Company.

At a press conference, which took place at the Pliska Hotel, which belongs to the air company, Engineer Petko Petkov, general director of "Balkan" State Company, introduced Guenther Esser and briefed the journalists on the topics that were discussed at the talks with IATA's top official. The aviation business now and in the future, and developing transportation activity, especially in the future, when the establishment of a uniform common market is anticipated, were among the main issues that have been discussed.

In his introductory speech Mr Guenther Esser recalled that this is his second visit to Bulgaria. Some 10 years ago he lectured at the Karl Marx Economic Institute. Not out of politeness but with real astonishment he imparted his impression that during those 10 years Bulgaria has advanced very much in its development, and especially in anything related to air transportation. "I am an

economist," Mr Guenther Esser said, "and it was easy for me to note your country's progress and economic stability. Therefore, I think that you can trust my sincerity...." [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Talks Held With Belgium in Sofia

AU2006174089 Sofia BTA in English 1656 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 20 (BTA)—The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and of Belgium held their regular political consultations in Sofia on June 19 and 20, 1989. The Belgian delegation was led by Mr Jan Hollands van Looke, secretary of state at the Belgian Foreign Ministry. Mr Michel Dooms, ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium in this country, took part in the consultations. The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The sides analysed in detail the state of bilateral relations and agreed that they are good but fall far short of the capabilities which Belgium and Bulgaria have for a more active and efficient dialogue. The opportunities for improved cooperation in all fields and above all in economics were considered at the consultations.

In the discussion of the international situation, particular attention was paid to the problems of peace and disarmament, to the resumed Soviet-American talks on strategic nuclear forces and to the Conventional Forces in Europe Talks in Vienna. The prospects for East-West cooperation within the framework of the CSCE process were discussed in detail.

The Bulgarian side shed light on its efforts towards the assertion of the mechanism of an inter-Balkan dialogue and on the difficulties in the implementation of the decisions of the Belgrade ministerial meeting which are being created by certain circles in the Republic of Turkey at this stage.

Mr Jan Hollands van Looke was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

Komsomol Ideological Tasks in Army Discussed

AU2106175489 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Ideological Work—New Tasks of Army Komsomol"]

[Excerpts] The revolutionary transformations in our society require comprehensive restructuring of the Army Komsomol. These transformations impose an urgent and profound change in the ideological-educational work. [passage omitted]

The decisions of the December 1988 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces and weapons of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the necessity to further strengthen the unity of the Bulgarian nation, placed the Komsomol organizations and leaderships in a new situation.

Now the patriotic education of the soldiers becomes the main concern of the Komsomol collectives. This means applying greater insistence and action in studying and acquainting the young soldiers with the revolutionary and combat traditions of our party and the Bulgarian People's Army, better utilizing the possibilities of the museums in the units and the garrisons, as well as the rooms devoted to military history, and meetings and talks with our noted writers, historians, and public figures. The study of Bulgarian history and our motherland's socialist present must abandon its sporadic character, and must cease being the initiative of the commander and Komsomol organizations and associations alone.

In order to engage the soldiers' feelings and bring their consciousness to a qualitatively new state it is necessary to turn the young soldiers into the center of the activity implemented by the Komsomol organizations and other associations. They must facilitate the formation of a correct orientation and appropriately motivated behavior, and the creation of convictions and a moral attitude among the young soldiers to solve their defense tasks. Obviously, dialogue is the best means of engaging the young soldiers in the struggle for the new and progressive factors. This requires that we change the forms, means, and methods of the educational activity. We could then develop a discussion with the youth that would supply the answers to the most topical issues of mutual relations between universal and class values at the present stage of our development, construct a correct notion about socialism and the global problems of war and peace, and turn the young soldiers from passive listeners into active and equal participants in the dialogue.

The decisive condemnation of every manifestation of pacifism and national nihilism has essential importance. The Komsomol organizations and associations must oppose such manifestations in a competent, well-argued and stirring manner. This brings to forefront the issue of the professional ideological qualification of the Komsomol workers and activists. We must stress not the administrative measures, bare agitation and maximum demands, but the specific approach toward creating an atmosphere for normal and nonbureaucratic life for the young soldiers. [passage omitted]

Editorial Reviews Sociopolitical Committees

AU2206105889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jun 89 p 3

[Editorial article: "Socialist Democracy in Action"]

[Text] The establishment of committees of political and social forces on a coalition basis is underway. These

committees represent a voluntary alliance of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], of social organizations and movements, creative professional unions, and other voluntary associations, additionally providing an opportunity for certain informal groups to join. The first municipal committees of this kind were created in Sofia, followed by Kazunluk, Lovech, Burgas, Blagoevgrd, Pomirie, Gabrovo, and the town of Tolbukhin.... They will be followed by Oblast committees, as well as by a committee under the the Fatherland Front National Council. They are constructed just like a building, starting from the foundations and ending with the roof. This is how Comrade Todor Zhivkov's interesting and future-oriented concept, which he developed at the December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, is being implemented.

First secretaries of municipal BCP committees and chairmen of Fatherland Front committees are elected chairman of the committees of political and social forces. Programs, including topical problems of the respective area, whose solutions call for the join efforts of all our society, have been adopted.

x x x

Why are these committees being established, and how will they act?

The committees were conceived as an original, new form of combining different social interests and are aimed at ensuring unity of action, cooperation, and coordination among all our citizens. This is done upon the basis of socialist pluralism to promote the development and prosperity of our social communities, by involving the cooperation of municipalities and oblasts, as well as of the entire country.

Let us try to interpret this general concept from a topical point of view: It is beyond any doubt that the committees represent a new and original form of organization. One of its main goals—namely to combine different social interests, to ensure unity of action, cooperation, and coordination of all social factors for the sake of our national interests—is not new. As a result, whatever power succeeds in gaining advantage over the other powers, guarantees a greater advantage for the state. This is confirmed by historical experience.

It is not so much the form of these new committees, but their substance and goals, that count. The correct definition and organization of these goals and substance will determine if the results of the committees' work correspond to the political and moral efforts and hopes invested in them and aimed at the successful transition to a civic society.

Unity of action, coordination, and cooperation are pursued by democratic means. The committees which constitute a sort of unique political coalition are established on a voluntary basis, upon the consent and common initiative of the leading bodies of political, social, and creative organizations, and of the voluntary associations, including people who are not members of any political party. Problems are expected to be discussed in a free and democratic manner, on the basis of socialist pluralism. Decisions shall be adopted on the basis of consensus, in observing the principles of independence and equal rights of the organizations and movements participating in the committees. A large group of specialists and the entire public should be involved in implementing the decisions. Unanimous action and unity of goals shall be achieved on the principle of democratic centralism according to the charters and statutes of the individual organizations and movements, and not according to hierarchic subordination. The committees shall be headed by the first leaders of the participating organization for limited periods of time, in succession, and shall not establish their own organizational apparatus. The fact that the first leaders of the participating organizations are involved in the work of the committees is essential.

The committees are expected to suggest new ideas, to work out joint platforms and programs on various problems related to the social communities and to submit proposals to the state organs. On a nationwide level they shall be entitled to adopt legislative initiatives. However, their decisions and opinions can only be consultative since they are not supposed to replace the legally elected state organs. Nevertheless, by expressing the real will of the population, they will undoubtedly exercise a strong influence upon the progress of the social processes and of restructuring.

The establishment of the committees creates prerequisites for a consolidation of all political and social forces, movements, social communities, groups, organizations, and associations joined together for the sake of our common goals and tasks, namely, for the implementation of the July Concept and of the decisions adopted by the December (1988) and May (1989) Plenums of the BCP Central Committee. These decisions regard Bulgaria's transformation into a highly developed and civilized socialist state. The tasks stemming from these decisions are of a comprehensive nature, and they require a comprehensive approach and joint efforts.

The first steps led in the right direction. The programs of the newly established committees include the topical problems concerning all regions, namely: the further unification of the Bulgarian nation; youth education; the development of every citizen's socialist consciousness and behavior; environmental protection and restoration; questions related to labor, recreation, education, and culture; consolidation of the family; migration, and a healthy way of life... . The coordination of efforts, opportunities, resources, and unity of action for the sake of common goals—all these tasks are accomplished with the active participation of the BCP and the Fatherland Front.

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Why are the committees established under the Fatherland Front, and will their activities be accomplished through the Fatherland Front? The purpose is not only to guarantee the social basis and to avoid the bureaucratization of the committees (they will not establish their own apparatus, but use the administrative services of the Fatherland Front committees) but also to preserve their nature as broad, political coalitions and exponents of nationwide interests. This is a method of preserving the initial purpose and nature of the Fatherland Front as a broad, national and popular movement promoting unity of action for the sake of the revolutionary restructuring of socialism in our days. It confirms, continues, and further develops the great idea on a united, patriotic front which was conceived by Georgi Dimitrov.

Well, it is understood why the committees are established under the Fatherland Front, but why should their work be implemented through the Fatherland Front? The considerations on this matter are not only formal but are determined by the fact that the Fatherland Front has great traditions and experience as an organization of entire people, as a nationwide movement. The Fatherland Front is provided with extensive, unexploited possibilities of more widely involving the working masses in management, in the affairs of the state, in implementing the transition to civic society, to a system of self-management and people's power, which are decisive prerequisites for implementing the BCP policy of revolutionary restructuring, and a qualitatively new economic growth.

Nevertheless, civic society is by no means an alternative to party leadership. The party abandons the last level of hierarchy and engages in certain mutual relations with other political and social forces, with the self-management organs, even as their partner, but this by no means signifies that the BCP should renounce its vocation and role as a political vanguard and people's leader. This is even more the case since the July Concept on the further construction of socialist society expressed the objective rules and requirements, as well as the people's will, and since the July Concept is entirely devoted to the care for man.

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It would be appropriate to regard the committees of political and social forces not only as an instrument of achieving definite political, economic, social, intellectual, moral, and other goals, but also as a reflection of the objective development of our society and of the world historical process, as a sign of the social maturity we have achieved. These committees actually represent a unique, original, and future-oriented solution contributing to the consolidation of self-management as a new type of democracy.

From its very beginning to our days socialist society has been striving for a higher level of productive forces and of social relations, for a constant expansion of socialist democracy and self-management. The BCP Program adopted at the 10th congress in 1971 stipulates that in socialist society, the construction of which we consider our immediate task, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat should develop into a nationwide state, into an organ expressing the will and interests of the entire people, and that social self-management should be constantly promoted. This task was updated in the BCP July Concept.

We proceeded and are still proceeding toward this goal today, when the level of social development and the present-day realities in our country and the world enable us to strive for a truly revolutionary restructuring process, for the transition from power in the people's name to power by the people, and for the self-management system. The reforms accomplished at the supreme level of state power, in territorial and legal system, in the economic and cultural spheres, and the recent legislative changes aimed at the protection and expansion of the citizens' rights and freedoms, confirm our loyalty to the idea of a civic society which is part of the genesis of Marxism-Leninism and the basis of socialist pluralism. As a result of all this, the requirement to preserve the new committees against bureaucracy and formalism, so that they may become truly functioning democratic organs, appears even more urgent.

The establishment of committees of political and social forces is an important factor in this process and an additional incentive for the optimal application of this principle for the active implementation of civil freedom. This freedom is a challenge and simultaneously develops our ability to adopt decisions with competence, with a sense of responsibility toward the people, and with their participation which combines all private interests with those of the community. From now on, the implementation of this idea, conceived by the BCP and by the BCP Central Committee general secretary, will depend on our efforts. The strength of its impact upon the innovative processes, as well as the scope of its contribution to the theory and practice of socialism will also be determined by our efforts.

Vaclavik Views Armed Forces' Restructuring
AU2206112389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 89 p 6

[Interview with Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, by CTK correspondent Ivan Kytka: "Military Technology For the National Economy"—date, place not given]

[Text] Prague—More than 4 months ago, the State Defense Council issued the Proclamation on the Reduction of the Number of Persons, Armament, and Organizational Changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA]. In this connection, CTK correspondent Ivan Kytka asked Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, for an interview.

[Kytka] Comrade Minister, what steps has the command of the CSLA undertaken to implement the aforementioned changes?

[Vaclavik] I would like to stress that we approach the organizational changes proclaimed by the State Defense Council with the awareness that the Army must, above all, ensure an uninterrupted reliable defense of our country and the socialist community in the international combat alliance with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. Our troops stand in the first defense line of the Joint Armed Forces, a matter that places great demands on their combat preparedness and readiness, on the fulfillment of the tasks of combat and political training.

Regarding the concrete realization of the proclamation, we have concluded the planning of the organizational changes for 1989-90, and we are entering an incomparably more complex period of their realization. The organizational changes will apply to roughly 30,000 persons, of which 4,000 will be professional soldiers and 900 civilian employees. These changes will be carried out in more than 200 CSLA formations and facilities. The planned organizational changes are unusual in their extent and the briefness of the time in which they must be implemented. We will carry them out gradually in accordance with already worked out schedules, so as to minimize possible damage and losses and create prerequisites for servicing and storing the technology and material in central bases and warehouses. In terms of time, about one-third of the changes will be accomplished this year, and the remaining two-thirds next year.

We have begun disbanding one Air Force regiment. The number of additional formations will be reduced this summer. In the 1989-90 period military construction organizations will be established, the work of which will be subordinated to government tasks connected with the implementation of an ecological program, reconstruction work in the West Bohemian border area, and with the modernization of the housing stock in determined localities. In addition, the existing formations of railroad troops for the repairs and maintenance of railroad lines will be beefed up by 2,000 men. I would like to say that as of last May roughly 3,000 troops in excess of the original plan have been deployed in selected branches for the good of the national economy.

These measures, with which we will ensure within the determined deadline the fulfillment of the tasks arising from the Proclamation of the State Defense Council of January 1989, are not only an organizational matter. We attach to them great political importance because they reflect our state's endeavor aimed at the relaxation of tension in international relations and the consolidation of peace in Europe.

The process of the organizational changes, which concern a considerable number of members of the Army, is connected with their relocation, retraining, creation of a new work environment, new collective relations and support [zazemi] for the family and social life of professional soldiers. When resolving complex issues of this unusual situation, we closely cooperate with territorial party and state bodies and rely on their support and assistance.

[Kytka] In your speech at the session of the Federal Assembly last March you said that the CSLA will offer the discarded military technology to the national economy. How do you proceed when doing this and how is the demand for an expedient and economic utilization of the technology taking hold?

[Vaclavik] A detailed timetable has been worked out to comply with the resolution of the State Defense Council—to exclude from the CSLA's armament 850 tanks and 165 armed personnel carriers by the end of 1990.

The discarding of the equipment will be carried out in several ways: It will be scrapped by the Kovosrot enterprise, the CSLA will use usable aggregates and spare parts in its repair facilities, and a certain number of tanks and armored personnel carriers—after technical adjustments—will be redeployed in some of the sectors of the national economy.

We are currently verifying technological procedures for dismantling tanks. The first 14 tanks for this purpose will be delivered in June. The tanks, from which some of the aggregates and spare parts will be taken out, will be delivered by combat units directly to the repair facility in Novy Jicin, where they will be expertly dismantled; and the bodies, turrets, and unusable spare part will be delivered to metallurgical plants. The large-scale scrapping of tanks will begin in June 1989.

In the past few months we have put up for sale the discarded tanks to be made use of in some sectors of the national economy. To date, for example, interest in the tanks has been expressed by the Construction Geology enterprise of Prague, the Trinec Iron Works, the Slovak Stone Industry of Levice, the Transportation Equipment Research Institute of Prague, the Labe River Basin

[Povodi Labe] of Hradec Kralove, and others. All applications for tanks will be complied with, and few of the discarded tanks will be on standby in case they are needed to deal with the consequences of accidents and natural catastrophes. The scrapping of the armored personnel carriers will be done in the Military Repairs Enterprise in Trencin. After taking out usable spare parts, the bodies of the vehicles will be taken to metallurgical plants.

The implementation of the resolution of the State Defense Council is a complex and demanding task. A number of experts from various military and civilian fields were working on that task in the past period. The purpose was to make the maximum use of the equipment and an economic fulfillment of that task.

[Kytka] In connection with the organizational changes in the CSLA, views and contemplations have cropped up among the public, and especially among young people, whether it would not be possible to shorten the 2-year basic military service. What is your opinion on this?

[Vaclavik] This matter is outside the federal defense ministry's jurisdiction. The legal foundation for building the CSSR Armed Forces is the military law, which delineates their tasks, composition, organization, and the military duties of citizens.

We must proceed from the fact that the length of the basic service has not been set arbitrarily. It derives from the number of available recruits, from the numerical strength of the armed forces, their tasks connected with ensuring the state's defense-capability, and from the demands on the troops' training and preparedness. Should the length of the basic military service be cut and the external conditions of the threat to the country remain unchanged, then more recruits would have to be called up or the professionalization of the Army would have to be substantially increased, as is the case in a number of the capitalist countries. We have taken unilateral steps in reducing the number of persons, armaments in, and the reorganization of the CSLA in the spirit of reasonable sufficiency. Given the existing ratio of forces, as long as reciprocal disarmament steps from the NATO's side do not follow, it is difficult to contemplate a general shortening of the period for basic service. However, I would like to point out that not all young people serve 24 months in our Army. Graduates of military departments of institutes of higher learning serve only 12 months, and those who have serious social problems or are indispensable to various branches of the national economy can do 5 months of duty in the so-called alternative service. We will make it possible to make a more frequent use of this option for family and social reasons.

One also has to see that various views and proposals to cut the basic military service are being put forward by certain groups and people with the intention of undermining civic responsibility, especially among young people. These views and proposals have nothing in common with caring about the ensurance of the country's defense-capability, and reflect an interest different from that of building and safeguarding socialism. There is an apparent effort to cast these values in doubt—and in what other way is this to be done but by weakening trust in the decisive power instrument of the socialist state—our People's Army.

[Kytka] An order of the chief of the CSLA General Staff, which makes it possible for recruits who have family or social difficulties to serve near their permanent residence, went into effect on 1 February this year. What does this concretely mean, and how this new order affect the April service-commencement date?

[Vaclavik] According to the practice to date, soldiers were not permitted to serve in the region of their permanent residence or in the district of another region if this district was adjacent to the district of their permanent residence. This order has been softened so that soldiers are only prohibited from serving in the district of their permanent residence. Thus already in April we met halfway [the wishes of] several hundred new members of the CSLA.

Even this order permits exceptions—for soldiers who have serious family or social reasons, or, for example, for railroad troops, top level athletes, or artists.

However, the possibilities of the territorial deployment of soldiers are limited by the objective needs and possibilities of the Army, and therefore there is no legal entitlement to them.

The federal defense ministry and I personally have been receiving numerous requests from parents or relatives of our soldiers to be permitted to serve in the place of their residence or nearby. To this I would like to add that all these issues connected with the request to serve in military formations in a territorial district are in the jurisdiction of district military administrations. Requests must be submitted at least 1 month prior to the commencement of the basic military service, later requests for transfer are to be presented to the commander of the pertinent formation.

However, cases also occur, where it is later ascertained that the applicant actually has no family or other social reason to be granted exception from the valid order. Also from this it is clear how necessary it is to be correctly informed, and how necessary it is to educate people, above all young people, to be aware of the responsibility for the defense of the fatherland, peace, and socialism.

Assembly Discusses Draft Economic Plan

LD2106090589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] The joint session of the chambers of the Federal Assembly is continuing in Prague today. Bohuslav Gecy now reports from the Federal Assembly building:

[Gecy] The first item on today's agenda was a draft bill on planning the national economy. A report was delivered by Bohumil Urban, first deputy federal premier. He stressed that the rich discussion connected with the preparation of the new law has shown that we have not had at our disposal ready-made, tested ways of transition to methods of planning and development which are democratic, enterprising, internally rational, and respectful of the needs and goals of the whole of society. The draft proceeds from the fact that the principle of planned management—while promoting the social and economic development of our country—is the advantage of socialism, regardless of mistakes and shortcomings arising in the past. The basic point when drafting the bill was to create greater scope for independence and creative initiative and this, above all, in the enterprise sphere as a condition for the gradual move of our Republic's economic standard to the standard of advanced European countries.

On one side, the draft bill envisages only a comprehensive state plan in the federation and in individual republics, and on the other side, plans made by enterprises. Thus, there will be no plans from the so-called middle links of management.

The national economic center keeps for itself certain possibilities to intervene in the development of the economy with the aim of asserting social priorities and ensuring state obligations.

Then, rapporters of the two chambers, Jozef Beko and Frantisek Samec, summed up the experiences gained in the discussion of the draft in committees, and recommended that deputies approve the draft. At present, discussion of the draft bill on the national economic plan is continuing.

Session Approves Draft Bills

LD2106151989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Deputies of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations approved today, at their 14th joint session, the government draft bill on national economy planning. [passage omitted] The deputies also approved the draft bill on the organization of Czechoslovak state railways. [passage omitted]

They also approved a government draft on general principles of supplies to CEMA states, which outlines in detail relations between seller and purchaser. The document strengthens the legal basis of trade relations and discipline and the implementation of trade contracts.

The deputies of our highest legislative body also approved a treaty between Czechoslovakia and the GDR on youth cooperation, and a treaty between Czechoslovakia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on legal aid in civil and criminal matters.

At the end of the session, the deputies of the two chambers elected new judges of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Supreme Court.

Plenary Session Held; Views CEMA Session

LD2206190689 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today discussed a report on the course and results of the 131st session of the CMEA executive committee, held in Moscow on May 16-18, and approved the Czechoslovak permanent representative's work at this session.

At its plenary session here, the Czechoslovak Government also discussed preparation for the 45th CMEA session and the 132nd session of its executive committee, it approved the composition of the Czechoslovak delegation and the principles of its work. It also agreed with the principles of the Czechoslovak delegates talks with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on an adjustment of the exchange rate between the Czechoslovak crown and the DPRK's won, and the coefficient of conversion in the sphere of non-commercial payments for the benefit of the Czechoslovak crown.

The government approved a proposal for an increase in retail prices of diesel oil, and for the cancellation of limits of diesel oil and petrol supplies to socialist organizations. Retail prices of diesel and fuel oil will be 7.50 crowns per litre from July 1, the increase being by 36.5 percent. The retail price of petrol remains unchanged.

Slovak Party Leadership Changes Announced

LD2206173589 Prague CTK in English 1519 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Bratislava June 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Slovak Communist Party First Secretary Ignac Janak submitted proposals for several cadre changes at a session of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee here today.

The Central Committee elected Pavol Bolvansky member of the Presidium and Secretariat and secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, chairman of the economic commission of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and member of the commission for preparation of the Slovak Communist Party congress.

Alternate member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Pavel Hrivnak was elected Slovak Communist Party Presidium member and member of the commission for preparation of the Slovak Communist Party congress. In harmony with the resolution of the 14th Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session, the Central COmmittee recommended the Presidium of the Slovak National Front to agree with his nomination to the post of Slovak premier.

Ivan Knotek was released of the post of member of the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and member of the commission for preparation of the Slovak Communist Party congress in connection with his election member of the Secretariat and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. [sentence as received] The Central Committee recommended the Presidium of the Slovak National Front to agree with his release of the post of Slovak premier.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee released at the 14th session Miloslav Hruskovic at his own request of the post of alternate member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium. The Slovak Communist Party Central Committee also met his request and released him of the post of member of the Presidium and the Secretariat and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee as well as of the post of chairman of the party Central Committee Economic Commission in connection with his retirement. [Prague Domestic Service in Slovak at 1200 GMT on 22 June reports that "The Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee was in session in Bratislava today. The session was attended by a delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee led by Comrade Jozef Lenart."]

Party Body on Shortcomings in Cadre Work

AU2006161889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Session of the CPCZ Control and Auditing Commission"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The 15th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Control and Auditing Commission was held in Prague on Friday [16 June] chaired by Jaroslav Hajn. It discussed a report on the results of an inquiry into how party organizations implement the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee on improving cadre policy. [passage omitted]

The inquiry revealed that the standard of cadre work still does not correspond to present requirements and that the implementation of the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee is not consistent.

In the implementation of the Leninist principles of selecting, deploying, and training cadres, elements of collectiveness and democratization are gaining ground only slowly. The main shortcoming is that cadre proposals are not being submitted to membership meetings. Their discussion in the committees of party organizations is often deemed sufficient. Selection from several candidates has not been used on a broader scale so far. In discussing cadre proposals, one only sporadically proceeds from the knowledge of labor collectives and social organizations. The rendering of accounts and the public monitoring of cadres are slow in gaining ground.

The cadre rosters and, in particular, the catalogues of functions on which party organizations deliver their opinion widely vary as to their size. In some organizations the number of these functions is too large, which contributes neither to intensifying the monitoring of cadres' work nor to enhancing their responsibility.

The inquiry into the fulfillment of tasks assigned during the comprehensive evaluation of cadres revealed that demands on the evaluated persons have increased only partly. Scant attention is being paid to how leading officials enlist labor collectives for party policy and to their specific contribution to restructuring. Weaknesses exist also in the evaluation of their moral and character traits. The weakest sphere of cadre work is the selection and preparation of the reserve pool of cadres. This has been confirmed by the elections of self-management bodies and directors of state enterprises when, in a number of cases, it was not possible to select several candidates from the reserve pool. [passage omitted]

Considerable responsibility for the slow and inconsistent implementation of the conclusions of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee lies with leading officials. [passage omitted]

The inquiry into the implementation of the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee on improving cadre policy showed the need for consistent work with it. In connection with annual members' meetings and party conferences, it is necessary to return to individual tasks and to take steps toward markedly strengthening the role of primary party organizations in cadre policy matters, toward increasing collectiveness in the decisions of members' meetings, and toward making use of the views of labor collectives and social organizations. District party committees must contribute to this to a far greater extent, by improving the quality of their guidance of primary organizations. [passage omitted]

Results of CNR By-Elections Declared

AU2006154889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "By-Election Results"]

[Text] Prague—On Wednesday [14 June], in Prague, the Czech Election Commission of the National Front held a session. Its chairwoman, Marie Hutterova, chaired the proceedings.

The commission discussed and approved final reports on the course and results of the by-elections for the Czech National Council [CNR], which took place on 13 June in constituencies no.93, Louny-East, and no.150, Prostejov.

On the voters' list in the CNR constituency no.93, Louny-East, the names of 28,009 voters were registered. 27,141 voters took part in the election, that is, 96.9 percent. 27,137 valid ballot papers were returned. The

commission declared that, in harmony with law no. 53/1971, Karla Pechova was elected as CNR deputy in constituency no.93, Louny-East.

On the voters' list in the CNR constituency no. 150, Prostejov, the names of 37,242 voters were registered. 35,596 voters took part in the election, that is, 95.58 percent. 35,336 valid ballot papers were returned. The commission declared that, in harmony with law no. 53/1971 Josef Prudik was elected as CNR deputy.

Both deputies obtained more than the 50 percent majority of the valid votes.

The Czech Election Commission of the National Front submitted all the documents to the CNR Mandate and Immunity Committee.

J. Hajek Urges USSR Review of 'Prague Spring'

PM2206101089 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 Jun 89 p 11

[Report on interview with Charter 77 member Jiri Hajek by Zagorka Zivkovic in Stockholm 17 June: "Those in Power Cannot Deter Today's Young People"]

[Text] For the first time in 20 years Jiri Hajek has been allowed to leave Czechoslovakia. His time as foreign minister during the Prague Spring and his subsequent involvement in the Charter 77 movement made him one of the most watched and harassed people in his homeland.

When I met him on Saturday morning [17 June] in Stockholm, he seemed friendly, but sad. On the invitation of the Workers' Movement's peace forum he has come to Sweden from Norway, where his son Jan has been living for the last 3 years. His son Jan is still stateless having lost his Czechoslovak citizenship after all the to-and-fro surrounding the question of his further education—a case that received a lot of attention in the West a few years ago.

But the 77-year-old Jiri Hajek's sad look has to do with a much more recent event—the Hungarians' rehabilitation of Imre Nagy.

"They have not only reevaluated him, they have also reevaluated all the events of 1956. In Czechoslovakia the official and obligatory description of the Prague Spring is still—so stupidly and falsely—that it was a so-called counterrevolution, and the invasion by our allies is still acclaimed as international fraternal help to the Czechoslovak people," Hajek said.

When I asked him if he thinks that events in Hungary will influence the Czechoslovak regime, he said that that would be the logical conclusion to reach—but the catch is that the Czechoslovak attitude is completely illogical. This was clearly demonstrated in the brutal reaction to the events of January this year.

"I think that what happened in January was, as it were, a prologue in miniature to events in China. In Czechoslovakia too there was a peaceful demonstration, chiefly by young people, in memory of Jan Palach. What was intended as a ceremony that would perhaps go on for an hour was disrupted by the arrogance of those in power in an action for which there is no justification. But the response was that the demonstrations continued for a whole week.

"On the other hand the demonstrations became a sign of the fact that those in power no longer intimidate people. Despite the brutality they did not succeed in frightening people into retreating into the private sphere."

But the majority in Czechoslovak society are still passive—which, according to Jiri Hajek, is due to a widespread skepticism and frustration which the older generation carries with it from the Prague Spring. People do not believe that political protest actions serve any purpose. Nevertheless certain changes are coming about, but a lot more slowly than in Poland or Hungary, for example.

"The active minority were quite isolated during the seventies and were reduced to a sort of ghetto. While it is true that the passive majority have a positive attitude toward us, they also saw us as a group of Don Quixotes."

Today things are different. A growing number of people outside Charter 77 are taking the initiative; this has become very clear in the past 2 years. What is most important is that the younger generation, who did not themselves experience the Prague Spring or its immediate consequences, have the courage to become involved despite the fact that there is a great risk of persecution and punishment, Hajek said.

At the beginning of the year many people in the West were surprised that at almost the same time as the events in Prague the Czechoslovak Government signed new documents at the European security conference in Vienna, including some important declarations on human rights. I asked Hajek what he thinks about this ambivalent attitude.

"Our leaders are aware that certain reforms are necessary and unavoidable. They know what sort of a state the economy is in, and they know that we are lagging behind in technical developments. On the other hand, they find themselves faced with a major dilemma. They see what is happening in the Soviet Union, but the problem is that this group of leaders, whom the Soviet Union forced on us, is fundamentally antireformist. They would like to obey and follow Gorbachev's example, but they know that that would go against their nature.

"Basically they are Stalinists, but the interesting thing is that even the word 'Stalinism' has become taboo. They do not want people to consider them Stalinists; they want instead to parade themselves as the true representatives of

true Marxism-Leninism. For them Gorbachev is an abnormal phenomenon which falls outside the framework of their thinking. I believe that they expect Gorbachev to fail, and I can imagine that the internal opposition to Gorbachev is encouraging these people and leading them to hope that it might be possible to pass through restructuring without harming the system of social braking mechanisms which they have forced on us."

During the era of restructuring Gorbachev has attacked the politics of stagnation under Brezhnev on many occasions. Last week, during his state visit to West Germany, he signed a document in which the Soviet Union recognizes the peoples' right to self-determination and declares respect for every state's integrity and security. I asked Hajek, who was once a professor of international law, what this could mean in concrete terms for relations within Eastern Europe.

"This is of course yet another event that will spur on the democratic movement in Czechoslovakia, but as I see it there is still a problem with Gorbachev. His talk of a common 'European home' is very good but, unlike his attitude toward Poland, he has still not gone so far as to admit a mistake vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia. He has not done so because he is aware that Czechoslovakia has remained relatively stable throughout the time that restructuring has been taking place. Czechoslovakia has not given him the same difficulties that Poland has.

"Second, the Prague Spring did not break down because of internal difficulties. They were there of course—I lived with them—but the reform process was interrupted by an armed action by the Soviet Union. And I think that this will have to be reassessed by the Soviet Union itself. Unless this happens, the present Czechoslovak leadership will remain convinced that they are acting in accordance with Moscow's directives."

Article Assesses Admiral Crowe's Moscow Visit

AU2206142689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Jun 89 p 5

[Article "written for Bratislava PRAVDA" by NOVOSTI commentator Vladimir Ostrovskiy in the "A Word on Events" column: "What Admiral W. Crowe Learned in Moscow"]

[Text] Crowe learned that the monetary value of the Soviet Army and Navy is R20.2 billion (American taxpayers pay $163.1 billion for similar components of the U.S. Armed Forces), that the Soviet Su-27 fighter plane costs R5.8 billion (a similar American F-15 aircraft costs $28 million). He also inspected the new Tu-160 strategic bomber.

Admiral W. Crowe learned directly from the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff that the Soviet military budget totaling R77.3 billion will be reduced by R10 billion annually. In this way, military expenditures will be considerably reduced by 1991. However, the Soviet disarmament policy results in other tasks. For example, in 1995 the overall share of the expenditure for the Army, earmarked for this purpose in the national income, is to decrease 1.5- to 2-times.

In the past, obtaining the aforementioned facts from the strictly classified Soviet budget, would cost American intelligence, including military intelligence, millions of dollars. Here, namely, one has to include, among other things, the space-based means of verification—the Sputnik espionage.

However, today the times are different. Soviet restructuring has resulted in the military budget being published, and the delegates to the first session of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies being briefed on it. The deliberations were attended by the chief of the Soviet general staff, Army General M. Moiseyev, as deputy, who played host to his American colleague. There was nothing else left to do for the representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, but to accurately jot down the figures and words he heard during the deliberations. He found out, among other things, about changes in the doctrine determining the buildup of Soviet Armed Forces, and acquainted himself with their new structure and defensive character. The American Admiral then acquainted himself with our views on the inadmissibility of the threat of or the use of force. They explained to him our position in detail: Only dialogue and talks which respect both sides' interests are capable of resolving international problems and lead to the peacefule settlement of conflicts. On the basis of concrete data from the Soviet military budget, the American Admiral could glean that the Soviet Union is not pressing only for the elimination of nuclear weapons; that the objective of the reduction of the Soviet defensive potential is to achieve the level of reasonable sufficiency. We are ready to discuss these problems, and expand cooperation with all states that agree with this.

During the chat between Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet Army's General Staff, and Admiral W. Crowe, I witnessed a new aspect in USSR-U.S. political dialogue—its extension to the military sphere. In the past this would have been difficult to imagine. The dialogue on the highest level between our big powers, which is characteristic of recent years, has given impetus to the development and intensification of contacts in the military sphere. It has become the foundation for arriving at an agreement on averting direct military threat. Thus, the new comprehensive Soviet-American treaty, which excludes the possibility of coincidental military conflict between us, goes into effect on 1 January 1990.

The opinion of the Soviet military command is that knowing one another always helps to deepen trust between partners. Abandoning the image of the enemy, and looking at one another as partners—in this we see

the purpose of the Moscow meeting between the American and Soviet military representatives. Therefore, it is not surprising that Admiral W. Crowe described his stay in Moscow as very interesting.

Hungarian Criticism of Imre Poszgay Cited

AU2106132289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jun 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote" column]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In its "168 Hours" program on Saturday [17 June], Hungarian Radio broadcast an interview with Roland Antonievics, the head of a communist youth organization. He expressed the conviction that the Friday funeral diverted attention from actual problems, and that he would no longer be surprised if Miklos Horthy (fascist dictator—editor's note) were to become the next rehabilitated politician. "Well, perhaps he will be declared a comrade, and then the only thing that remains to be done is the political and legal rehabilitation of Szalasi and his associates." (terrorist fascist organization from the closing years of World War II—editor's note) Roland Antonievics also said that he cannot identify with Imre Poszgay's ideas, according to which the party should be transformed into a Western style social democratic party. "We are being accused of wanting to return to the past. But it is they [not specified] who are preparing the return of the old days. They want capitalism. And we must not permit that," he stressed. [passage omitted]

Citizens Permitted More Hungarian Forints

AU2006153589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report: "More Forints for Our Tourists"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank announce that effective from 15 June until further notice, it is expanding the sale of forints for private unorganized visits by Czechoslovak citizens to the Hungarian People's Republic. The forints will be sold for a maximum of Kcs500 per person per day and at the most for Kcs3,500 per person per visit.

During transit journeys across Hungary, it is possible to buy forints for a maximum of Kcs135 per person per journey. During journeys organized by travel agents, pocket money will continue to be sold for a maximum of Kcs90 per person per day.

Assembly's Dam-Related Appeal to Hungary

AU2206132689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jun 89 p 1

[Statement of the CSSR Federal Assembly on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project, adopted at its 20 June session]

[Text] The deputies of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly acquainted themselves with the standpoint of the CSSR Government of 15 May and 3 June 1989, on the decision of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to halt for 2 months the construction of the Nagymaros water project, which is a part of the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian water project. The unilateral decision of the Hungarian Government is at variance with a concluded treaty.

The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of water projects is of considerable importance for the protection of land, water conservancy, power engineering, transportation, agriculture, and other sectors of our countries' national economy. The project was prepared by qualified experts of our two states for a long time, taking into consideration economic, ecological, seismic, and other necessary prerequisites. The CSSR Federal Assembly is convinced that the successful completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project will be of comprehensive benefit to the Czechoslovak and Hungarian people.

The CSSR Federal Assembly asks the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic to contribute to the implementation of the interstate treaty, that both our representative bodies support the successful completion of this water project, which will be the contribution to the life of the present and future generations of our socialist countries.

Opponent of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Dam Criticized

AU2306085989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Jun 89 p 5

[Report by Vojtech Vesely, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Budapest: "Face to Face With the Opponents of the Construction of the Water Project on the Danube; A Definitive Stop to Nagymaros?"]

[Text] I attended a really unusual international press conference on Tuesday evening [20 June]. The opponents of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project had sent a written invitation, enclosing briefing material on the establishment of an international board of a fund for indemnification for damage occuring in the event the Nagymaros section of the project, is definitely halted.

The unusual thing was that the Hungarian press sent only two colleagues to the press conference and these left with information they had obtained literally in the corridors. Thus, I was the only one to represent the international press. Thanks to this minimal interest in the whole affair I was able to have an interesting dialogue with the founder of the fund.

[Vesely] The 26 May proclamation of the "provisional secretariat of the fund" states that, following the talks by Premier Miklos Nemeth in the CSSR and Austria, the public has the impression that the "2-month suspension of the construction of the Nagymaros section will be followed by a definite halt of the project." On what do

you base such interpretation of the results of the aforementioned talks? After all, M. Nemeth himself said in Parliament that a definite decision will only be made after a further appraisal by the two sides' experts. This was agreed in Prague. A different interpretation of the matter would place the need for a further appraisal of the whole affair in doubt...

[Answer] The conclusion about expecting a definitive halt of the construction did not come from us, it was published in the Austrian daily DIE PRESSE. We ourselves have not polled public opinion, but we have the same feeling; this, actually, is why we have initiated the fund.

[Vesely] Thus you have it, so to speak, second hand. And if the dam is built after all?

[Answer] In that case, we will press for the whole project to be torn down, and the fund will be made use of when the matter is decided sometime in the future.

[Vesely] The aforementioned proclamation also asserts that Hungary was forced to sign the agreement with Czechoslovakia on the construction of the system. What do you mean; with what force can a government be forced to sign such a document?

[Answer] Certain forms of political coercion exist which are not made public. Our opinion is that in a few months we will know it very precisely. At the latest, when there is a truly pluralistic government system in Hungary and documents concerning all treaties in the past 30 years, which until now have been classified, will be made available; when the relevant parliamentary body questions the politicians and experts involved in making the decisions. Until now we have proceeded from the statements of some politicians, we have no evidence at our disposal.

[Vesely] Thus, you have been publicly proclaiming a thesis which you expect can only be substantiated in the future. What is your opinion about such argumentation?

[Answer] Not us, the statement about Hungary having been forced to become a party to the agreement comes from Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, and we do not think that he did this without premediation; he certainly knows more about it; he is apparently acquainted with documents which have not been published yet. Thus far, I can say only that we believe that evidence will be furnished for this assertion.

[Vesely] How can you know what is in documents which you are saying, according to you, have not been made available yet?

[Answer] Ask Imre Pozsgay about it. He apparently knows more. To put it concisely, the treaties on this water project did not come into being as a result of the free decision of equal parties and therefore they are invalid...

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Picasso used to say that details are the most interesting thing about everything. And here, too, the more we go into detail, the shakier the assertions of the opponents of the project become. Without any verification they have been putting forward serious objections, and even accusations, about alleged coercion of the entire Hungarian Government and legislative body to sign agreements, but the proof substantiating this hypothesis has to be sought by the person whom it is actually seeking to convince.

However, he who enters the arena has to carry a sword. Also when it is the political arena....

Johanes Meets EC Envoys, Discusses Trade

LD2206092189 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 21 (CTK)—A meeting of the heads of diplomatic missions of the European Communities' member states with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Jaromir Johanes, was organized here today by Spanish ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Jose Luis Dicenta Ballester.

Jaromir Johanes confirmed Czechoslovakia's interest in all-round development of commercial and economic cooperation with the European communities based on agreements. In this context, he appreciated a constructive and businesslike character of the first session of the mixed Czechoslovak-EEC consultative body at the beginning of June this year, and pointed out that its results showed the possibilities for cooperation also in the sphere of ecology, standardization, customs issues, transport and power engineering.

The Czechoslovak minister spoke of the process of restructuring and democratization in Czechoslovakia, pointing out that the economic reform creates favourable conditions for wider application of modern forms of economic cooperation.

He also underlined the significance of the development of economic ties for the consolidation of the all-European process, for the building of a common European home.

Jose Luis Dicenta Ballester, representative of the country presiding the European Communities at present, said that the member states of the communities welcome the progress achieved in mutual relations, and are interested in their further expansion.

Joint Venture With FRG, Austrian Banks

AU2306091489 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 23 Jun 89 p 1

["cmk" report: "Joint Venture With CSSR"]

[Text] Prague, 22 June—On 21 June, the "Prague Trading Bank Limited" with headquarters in Frankfurt/Main was founded in Prague. It is a CSSR-FRG-Austrian banking joint venture, and the first joint venture of the CSSR in the banking sector with foreign partners.

The stock capital of DM20 million and the agio of DM2 million (risk reserve) are shared by the CSSR Obchodni Bank with 45 percent; the CSSR Zivnostenska Bank with 10 percent; the German Cooperative Bank, Frankfurt/Main, with 30 percent; the BHF Bank, Frankfurt/Main, with 5 percent; and the Central Cooperative Bank, Vienna, with 10 percent. The Prague Trading Bank is to start work on 1 January 1990 in Frankfurt, and initially will have 20 mainly German employees. Even though, in particular, the CSSR partners consider financing of trade between the CSSR, the FRG, and Austria, but also with third countries, as the most important issue, an application for registration as an all-round bank is to be made very soon. By the end of 1990, a branch office is to be opened in Prague. Offices in Munich and Vienna are also planned.

Profile of Businesses Engaging in Foreign Trade

AU2206121789 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 20 Jun 89 p 2

["ik"-signed report: "Who Trades With Foreign Countries"]

[Text] Since 1 July 1988, when the law which makes it possible for production enterprises and other organizations and cooperatives to trade with foreign countries went into effect, in the CSSR there are 273 businesses—in addition to 49 foreign trade organizations—that have the right to engage in trade with foreign countries. They are mainly various commercial organizations that are involved in direct trade with the socialist countries—in the interest of enhancing our domestic market—and cooperatives that trade with the main object of their agricultural activity, as well as with their ancillry production. In addition, all enterprises that have some foreign ownership, that is, joint ventures, of which there are 28 in our country, have the right to conduct foreign trade activities. As representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs said at a news conference yesterday [29 June], the main consideration when dealing with applications for permits is effectiveness, and the ability to carry out this activity efficiently and without subsidies, while bearing the national interests in mind.

'Insufficient' Interest by Enterprises in Trade

AU2206121989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 89 p 8

["pp"-signed article: "Insufficient Interest of Large Enterprises"]

[Text] Prague (Our correspondent)—Change in the organizational forms of foreign trade activities is one of the important aspects of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Whereas formerly it was the specialized foreign trade enterprises that constituted the centerpiece of foreign trade, nowadays additional Czechoslovak businesses are entering the world market. At the end of May—in addition to the 49 enterprises subordinate to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade—there were additional 273 organizations which have the right to carry out foreign trade activities.

When granting permits for foreign trade activity, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade respects, above all, tried-and-tested principles. This involves large-scale imports, for example, of raw materials, the concentration of which in one organization makes it possible to obtain more favorable prices and reduce commercial costs. The ministry is also trying to prevent situations where two or more of our enterprises would undesirably compete against each other in the same sphere.

When granting permits, one also sees to it that the profitability of exports does not suffer, and also whether the applicant has sufficient foreign currency funds to cover the risks arising from commercial activities abroad. Despite the stringent criteria only four applications have been rejected so far. It is rather the commercial and cooperative organizations that show interest in foreign trade activities, whereas large state enterprises, which regard using the services of foreign trade enterprises more favorably, have been displaying very little interest. So far, in the range of goods which are being traded outside the foreign trade enterprises, consumer goods and products from the united agricultural farms' nonagricultural activity prevail.

At a news conference in Prague on Monday [19 June], representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade announced that it is no longer necessary to obtain approval for establishing direct relations and mutual exchange within the framework of cooperation and scientific collaboration. However, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade does not regard agreements on the specialization of production, which involve handing over a part of a production program to foreign partner, followed by the exchange of finished products, as direct relations.

CSSR-Laos Technical Commission Ends Session

AU2006161289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 8

[CTK report: "From the Intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Laos Commission"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [15 June], in Prague, the fifth session of the intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Laos commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation came to an end. At the conclusion the heads of both delegations, Miroslav Toman, Czech Socialist Republic first deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, and Phao Bounnaphon, minister of trade and external economic relations of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], signed a document summarizing the results of the meeting.

The talks were devoted to guaranteeing the results of the friendly working visit made by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, to Laos in April 1989. A topic of the proceedings was the founding of a joint Czechoslovak-Laos enterprise for the production and processing of wood in Laos. Among other suggestions for future cooperation are the expansion of beer production in Laos on the basis of supplies of Czechoslovak technological equipment, and the expansion of tourism between both countries.

While considering the state of work on the coordination of national economic plans between the CSSR and the LPDR for the years 1991-95, the significance of direct negotiations between Czechoslovak and Laos enterprises on specific possibilities for the development of economic cooperation was emphasized.

Western Conduct at Paris Conference Criticized

AU2006170389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jun 89 p 6

[Jan Skoda article: "The Same Things Are Not Always Alike; On the Discussion at the Paris Conference on the Human Dimension"]

[Excerpts] The Paris conference of states participating in the Helsinki process on the human dimension has set a precedent in European history. It is taking place as the second event after the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, shortly after the London Information Forum. Next year the humanitarian forum is to continue with a conference in Copenhagen, and a year later the final meeting on the human dimension theme assigned by the Vienna document of the 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada will take place in Moscow. [passage omitted]

Individuals or a Collective?

Even at the Paris conference some Western representatives did not refrain from lecturing the socialist countries. In their speeches they made inquiries about the fate of certain individuals whom they defined as "victims of our system." Each case involved one person or a few individuals, the majority of whom had broken the valid laws of the socialist state.

Our approach to these questions is, despite their often provocative content, as constructive as possible and proceeds from good will. We refer to the fact that there exist many opportunities to discuss thing but, in particular, to inform each other at bilateral meetings about the reasons for the origin of individual cases and to set the information of our partners right.

However, the fundamental question is whether investigations into infringements of the rights of an individual ought to be the main topic of discussion of a conference at such a high level as the one in Paris. The issue is not that we should avoid these questions. We too could raise a number of cases involving the infringement of the rights of individuals in the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, or in any other Western country, but we would "be caught by the bait" of those who want to lead the conference discussion away from the path of discussing fundamental problems, and who expend all their energy on mutual attacks and recriminations. What would some Western countries gain by this? Perhaps only the attention of a handful of bourgeois mass media at the European conference who have no aim other than to slander and find divisions, not common interests.

Happily, the majority of the speeches at the Paris conference had a constructive and matter-of-fact character and dealt with an evaluation of the measures carried out since the Vienna meeting and also concrete proposals for the future. For example, the French proposal for the economic and social rights of man was received with great interest and a positive response. Our measures for the simplification of visa procedures with Western states also earned recognition. [passage omitted]

Civil Defense Official Interviewed in Bulgaria

AU2006123189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jun 89 p 5

[Interview with Major General Frantisek Janecek, deputy head of the CSSR Civil Defense, by Rumyana Simeonova: "We Can Learn From Our Mistakes"—in Sofia, date not given]

[Text] Major General Frantisek Janecek, deputy chief of the Civil Defense for the Protection of the Population and National Economy of the CSSR, recently visited our country at the invitation of the Civil Defense Staff General Staff of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He kindly gave an interview to Rumyana Simeonova, representative of our editorial board.

[Simeonova] Comrade Major General, you would presumably agree that the recent increase in the number of natural disasters and major accidents in industrial enterprises and nuclear power stations has raised a very serious question: How effective is our theoretical, psychological, and practical preparation for appropriate action and self-defense in the case of such disasters and their aftermath? Could you describe how this problem is being solved in your country?

[Janecek] No one in a developed society is insured against accidents and hence a reliable protection is absolutely required. While in our country we have not yet had to face any critical situation in our large production installations, this fact is by no means reassuring. A decision on special training for the population in the vicinity of nuclear power plants and chemical factories that present a potential danger of the release of toxic substances has been adopted in the CSSR. We have introduced a system of obligatory training with appropriate measures and protection means and we have provided satisfactory material facilities for this purpose. The most important thing, however, is not to learn how to protect oneself in case of danger, but how to prevent danger. The most responsible task for us is to ensure a timely and high quality technical servicing of machines and equipment, to provide preventive measures in connection with handling machines and technologies that process, or produce harmful substances, as well as to guarantee the selection of competent cadres, their training and, last but not least, their labor discipline.

As far as natural disasters are concerned, it is more difficult to protect ourselves against them. Slovakia was affected by an earthquake over a month ago. Despite the fact that there was no loss of life and no substantial material damage, the earthquake was a serious alarm signal testing our readiness to take action and to adopt protection measures.

[Simeonova] The present stage in the development of industry and nuclear power confirms the advantages of cooperation in the civil defense sphere between two and more neighboring countries. Could you tell us something about your experience in this field?

[Janecek] Yes, we have established a well-organized civil defense cooperation with our neighbors. We have already conducted joint exercises with our colleagues from the GDR and Hungary. We are cooperating with the Civil Defense organs and forces in Poland. We are coordinating our plans, establishing special groups for joint action in border areas in case of natural disasters and industrial accidents. In addition to this, we are studying the possibilities of accidents in large chemical enterprises of Czechoslovakia's neighbor countries and are trying to assess possible implications. The lesson of Chernobyl taught us that every one of us, regardless of where he lives, should be permanently concerned about radiation and nuclear safety.

[Simeonova] Unfortunately, the thought that future natural disasters may come as a surprise was recently confirmed in our country on several occasions....

[Janecek] I was impressed by the fact that great attention and substantial funds are being devoted to civil defense matters in your country, and especially to the protection of the population against natural disasters and industrial accidents. Bulgaria's positive experience, as well as your difficulties in eliminating the damage following the Strazhitsa earthquake, and your activities during the unprecedented hail storms, the recent hurricanes, and the Kazunluk accident are very instructive and useful for us—because they serve both as experience and as a warning.

8th SED Central Committee Session Convenes

Herrmann Delivers Report

LD2206124289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1013 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, in the Politburo report to the eighth meeting of the SED Central Committee in Berlin today said that the values of socialism are firm beliefs of the people of the GDR. "The unity of economic and social policy has been consistently implemented, which has triggered new initiatives from the workers. Under liberal minded conditions, we continue our socialist development as a historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and spiritual-cultural changes."

Through the harmony of word and deed, the SED has done justice to its leading role as the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. In alliance with all parties and mass organizations united within the democratic bloc and in the National Front, it has implemented its policies for the well-being of the people, characterized by continuity and renewal. Solid foundations have been created toward preparing for the 12th party congress (May 1990).

In the period since the seventh meeting of the Central Committee, the assessment made by Erich Honecker has been confirmed that a series of positive changes can be discerned in international relations, and that a change from confrontation to detente is being introduced. "This process must be resolutely continued and rendered irreversible," Joachim Herrmann added. "All the more so in view of the intensified activities of those politicians in the West who persist with the position of "nuclear deterrence," while at the same time interfering more openly than ever in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

Positive developments in the international situation, as expressed in the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the destruction of medium-range missiles, at the beginning of the Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament, on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, and toward settling regional conflicts through political means, are the result of the dynamic foreign policy path of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states, and of the activities of those countries and social forces in the world which are governed by reason and realism. Through the opposing efforts of influential forces within NATO for military superiority and confrontation, however, the international situation remains complicated and contradictory.

In order that there should be no interruption to the disarmament process, the Warsaw Pact countries have, throughout the period covered by the report, once again adopted diverse disarmament initiatives and made unprecented prior concessions, Herrmann continued.

In connection with data published by the Warsaw Pact countries at the end of January on the numerical strength of the armed forces and armaments of the two military coalitions in Europe, and in the sea areas bordering Europe, readiness was once again stressed, in accordance with the defensive nature of our military doctrine, to work toward a speedy and considerable reduction of the military balance to a point where mutual attack is made impossible. The specific proposals brought to the Vienna negotiations by our alliance which provide for a radical reduction in the armaments and armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO to agreed equal upper limits, with consideration in particular to those categories which are especially suited to surprise attacks and territory-seizing offensive operations, are directed toward this objective.

Despite its exposed position in Europe, the GDR is ceaselessly making an active contribution to the disarmament process. The GDR's National Defense Council made a decision in January to reduce by 1990 the National People's Army by 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft, unilaterally and independent of negotiations. The defense budget is to be cut by 10 percent. The National People's Army maintains an even stricter defensive character. This includes the disbanding of six tank regiments and a flying squadron. As early as April, the discharge of the first units of the 8th Tank Regiment took place in Goldberg, under observation from domestic and foreign media.

An important step is the decision to employ 11,500 army members, after brief military training, in important areas of the national economy for the duration of their active military service, thereby promoting the dynamic development of the GDR, while maintaining the defensive capacity of our country.

Our initiatives for the creation of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons at the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact remain topical.

The proposal in April to NATO to begin separate negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe considerably enriched the negotiations and offers for the disarmament of all types of weapons, Herrmann stated. This significant socialist initiative, which was presented at the Berlin meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee, began from the premise that the danger of a surprise attack or the triggering of a nuclear conflict cannot be eliminated as long as there are tactical nuclear weapons on European soil. Only the start—soon if possible—of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in

Europe, parallel to the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces, offers a realistic chance of considerably reducing all the weapons systems which are capable of triggering surprise attacks and large-scale offensive actions.

The GDR welcomes and supports the decision of the USSR this year to unilaterally withdraw 500 warheads from tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of the allied states onto its territory, and its readiness to withdraw all its nuclear munition from the territory of its allies by 1991, provided that an analogous step is taken by the United States.

The NATO summit meeting in Brussels at the end of May aimed at establishing unified action by the NATO states in face of disarmament initiatives taken by the Warsaw Pact, Herrmmann added. It could be stated as a result of the resolution for a "joint concept for arms control and disarment," NATO's striving for military superiority over the Warsaw Pact, the confirmation of a policy of "nuclear deterrence," and a whole cluster of measures for interference in the internal affairs of the socialist states are dominant.

The proposals made by U.S. President George Bush regarding the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe are a first answer to the disarmament offers made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and are a sign of certain progress vis-a-vis its position in this sphere up to now. The readiness to include land-based fighter aircraft and combat helicopters in the negotiations is a positive step toward a rapprochement of the negotiation concepts of the two military alliances. At the same time, the start of negotiations on nuclear short-range missiles is dependent on a unified agreement in the Vienna negotiations, and no one knows when it will be achieved. This package is damaging to the disarmament process. In addition, the converting of the "Lance" missiles, declared as a "modernization," is only being postponed, in the fear that it could have negative effects on the next Bundestag elections in the FRG at the end of 1990. The Brussels decision expressly establishes that the United States will intensify its work on the research and development of the follow-up system for these missiles. It is known that these missiles will compensate for the potential threat which has been lost through the INF Treaty.

NATO's adherence to the obsolete military concept of "nuclear deterrence," which envisages the first use of nuclear weapons, again makes apparent the policy of military strength which forms the basis for a continued arms race with nuclear weapons, and indicates the persistence of old modes of thought. Also typical of this is the scenario of the "Wintex-Climex" staff exericse, in which the authorization of 30 nuclear weapons missions—with the involvement of all NATO states—is practiced.

"The priority tasks continue to be," Joachim Herrmann added, "the earliest possible signing of a treaty between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons, under conditions of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, a comprehensive halt to nuclear weapons tests, and the signing of a convention on eliminating chemical weapons. The GDR welcomes the fact that Soviet-U.S. negotiations on strategic and space weapons have been resumed in Geneva."

The Politburo adopted a statement from Mikhail Gorbachev on his official visit to the FRG. It welcomes the results of the visit as an important contribution to preserving and stabilizing peace in Europe. "The joint statement of the two countries signed in Bonn is a document on the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and alliance membership, and can assist measures on the path of European security and cooperation. Despite all ideological and political differences, concern for the survival of mankind must, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed following the conclusion of the visit, be the focus of all policy. War must no longer be a means of policy, and one's own security must not be guaranteed at the cost of others.

In accordance with the policy which it itself pursues, the GDR supports the standpoints on the deepening and continuation of the disarmament process contained in the statement. It attaches particular importance to the commitment to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and security of every state, the right of all states to freely choose their social system, and to respect the right to self-determination and the norms of international law. The GDR agrees with the position expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev, that the peoples of Europe in particular see their own best interests in a radical disarmament in the conventional sphere, of nuclear short-range systems, and of chemical weapons.

"The Politburo underlines its complete agreement with the official statement by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, which emphasizes the importance of the visit to relations between the USSR and the FRG, and moreover for the whole of Europe. These were an integral part of the construction of the common house of Europe," Herrmann stressed. "The official conclusion of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo that the joint statement 'develops further the ideas of the Moscow treaty under the new conditions, is based on a policy of holding tightly to the postwar order and to the inviolability of borders, and represents an important contribution to the modernizatiion of European and international relations as a whole'—this conclusion is unequivocal and leaves no room for speculation of any kind, even in statements by the Bonn government."

It is consistent with the GDR's peace mission to do everything possible to ensure that war will never again

emanate from German soil. This was also the guideline for the activities staged in memory of World War II, unleashed by the Hitler fascists 50 years ago.

"We will never forget the 50 million who died in the World War II as a result of Nazi Germany's mania for conquest. The courage of the fighters of the Soviet Union and the other powers of the anti-Hitler coalition in the defeat of the brown beast is not forgotten. The heroic struggle of the German Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, Christians, and Jews, men and women from the working class, the intelligentsia, the farming community, the lower middle class, bourgeoisie, and even the military—of all antifascists—it is a dear legacy to our people, which continues to affect our peace policy.

"We are at present experiencing very intensive efforts by certain politicians of capitalist countries to apply political, ideological, and economic pressure to socialist countries to induce them to accept capitalist social concepts and structures, bourgeois pluralism, and bourgeois ideology," Herrmann continued. "Under the banner of a 'renewal of socialism' forces are at work which are striving to eliminate socialism. In this connection, developments in Hungary fill us with great concern. The attacks on socialism are coupled with the demand to call into question the present realities in Europe. Anyone who tries to shake these realities, especially at the European borders, anyone who repeatedly proclaimed the revanchist slogans of the restoration of the German Reich within the 1937 borders, and anyone who interferes in the internal affairs of the socialist states and censures their sovereign actions, undermines the foundations of the European postwar order and, in the final analysis, endangers in international relations the change from confrontation to detente. Especially those Western politicians should be aware of this who recently have let no public speech pass without attacking the 'Wall,' the state border between the GDR and Berlin (West). The GDR should dispense with its safeguard against economic plundering and the incursions of criminal elements of psychological warfare, up to and including drug trafficking. Naturally, this will not succeed. The experience of the period up to August 1961 was bitter enough, and everyone knows that peace in Europe was threatened more than once. Therefore, the GDR has repeatedly stated: the 'Wall will remain until the causes which led to its erection have been eliminated.' To this the writer Stefan Heym added a thought which is very topical for the FRG and Berlin (West). In an interview for an FRG television station recently, he said: 'When I look at [Republican Party head] Herr Schoenhuber, and at what is crawling out of the brown swamp, which still exists, and when I think that it could possibly spread, then I think it would perhaps be good if the GDR stays and the Wall still protects them for a while, so that perhaps one day a part of Germany will be there which can give asylum to the Greens, Social Democrats, and others who would then be persecuted by the fascists.'"

As far as the GDR is concerned, the statement by the People's Chamber on the implementation of the agreements of the CSCE process has reinforced the principle that nobody has the right to infringe upon the sovereignty of the GDR.

Herrmann continued: "This also applies to the massive campaigns and attempts at intervention under the pretext of human rights. Those initiating them are least of all concerned with the promotion of human rights or with cooperation in humanitarian and other areas. They are aiming rather to poison the atmosphere, or at confrontation. It is particularly necessary to stress this, because Western media and politicians as a rule remain intentionally silent on the violation or non-guarantee of internationally arrested human rights for millions of people in capitalist countries, while believing that they can make decisions for other countries." "For us," as the GDR foreign minister stressed at the Paris conference on the human dimension of the CSCE, "the most important human right remains constantly in the foreground: The right to life and to peace. The respect of this right is a basic requirement for the implementation of all human rights."

Cooperation beneficial to the promotion of human rights and to humanitarian concerns is only possible where there is respect for the sovereign rights of states. The GDR can claim important achievements in the implementation of human rights in all areas, and an exemplary contribution to cooperation between countries in the humanitarian sphere. The GDR acted in this way by working for the success of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. Through its practical policies it makes it clear, day by day, that it is complying with agreements made in Vienna, in the framework of the national legislation, and is thus continuing to play an active part in shaping the CSCE process. Through its policy of dialogue and willingness to negotiate, it advocates making peace, security, and equal cooperation a determining element in Europe, to the benefit of all people.

During the period of time covered by the report, it could be stated "that an exchange of opinions and experience between the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and cooperation between our states in the most varied spheres was extremely extensive and varied," Herrmann continued.

The Politburo attaches major significance to the implementation of the commitments made by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in September 1988, which are directed at expanding fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CPSU in all spheres. A range of measures aimed at increasing the close interweaving of the national economies and the scientific potentials of the GDR and the USSR during the period 1991-95 and up to the year 2000 were agreed. During the visit made by Kurt Hager to Moscow in December 1988, the long-term program of cooperation in the socio-scientific

area between scientists and research collectives of the two countries was signed, and in May this year a joint commission of GDR and USSR social scientists was formed.

The visit to the GDR by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stands as a sign of the deepening of general cooperation between the two countries. Erich Honecker and Shevardnadze expressed the satisfaction at the state of fraternal relations between the SED and the CPSU, and the GDR and the USSR. They are exemplary in their intensity and variety. The officials reaffirmed the mutuality of their viewpoints on the principal questions of foreign policy and socialist construction. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo stated on Shevardnadze's friendship visit, "that the exchange of opinion conducted in Berlin with the leadership of the fraternal GDR has confirmed the unanimity of the two countries positions on the key questions of bilateral relations, international and European policies, and their striving to make the introduced positive changes in the international situation irreversible." Herrmann expressed the certainty that this would also be expressed during the visit—to take place in the immediate future—by Erich Honecker to Moscow and his participation in the festivities marking the 60th founding anniversary of Magnitogorsk.

Herrmann stated that the SED has sent 11 delegations to the USSR since December 1988, and two deputations from the CPSU Central Committee have visited the GDR.

Erich Honecker's meeting in Prague with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, was described by Herrmann as an important event. "Far-reaching commitments were agreed upon to deepen cooperation with the CSSR in the interest of strengthening socialism, securing peace in Europe, and for the benefit of the citizens of both countries. In particular, the signing of a treaty on a youth program between the GDR and the CSSR bears witness to this."

Both officials informed one another on "how both parties asserted the universally valid legitimacy of Marxism-Leninism, under their respective differing conditions, while considering the experiences of other socialist countries, but without undertaking anything which would not have the necessary effect in their own countries. They stressed that it is important, despite the diversity of current developments to strengthen the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the framework of the entire socialist community."

On Erich Honecker's meeting with Polish state and party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, Herrmann said that the talks and the signing of important documents "place the close cooperation between the two parties and states on an even firmer footing and open up new, far-reaching perspectives for it. It was shown, as both sides stressed, that problems which have arisen can be solved by dialogue and political agreement." The meeting was of outstanding importance as it served "to expand and consolidate the friendship and alliance between the SED and the Polish United Workers Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Despite all different developments, the collaboration between the GDR and Poland is and will remain an important factor of stability and peace in Europe, and an effective contribution to the strengthening of socialism." The GDR pays great attention to relations with Poland. "Poland is a socialist state and occupies an important place in the community of Warsaw Pact member states. We are interested in deepening fraternal bonds between the GDR and Poland, which have existed for decades. The SED sees the warm and friendly relations between the head of states of the GDR and the chairman of the Polish State Council as a guarantee for a flourishing development in the future, too. We regard the creation of the office of Polish president as a guarantee of cooperation between the social systems in Poland and the GDR, in the spirit of consolidating the alliance between them."

In accordance with an invitation that has now been received, the GDR will send a delegation of resistance fighters to the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the attack by Hitlerite Germany on Poland.

The Politburo devoted particular attention to the development of friendship with the PRC. In the spirit of mutual understanding and trust, relations with the Chinese Communist Party have been deepened. The SED praised the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting and the agreements reached there, as an event of world political rank.

"As far as the recent events in the PRC are concerned," Herrmann continued, "the GDR has published all relevant announcements and statements from the PRC party and state leadership, in order to ensure objective information and to refute Western horror stories. The peaceful demonstrations by students in Beijing were apparently exploited for a counterrevolutionary overthrow of people's power in China." The GDR People's Chamber stressed in a statement put forward by the SED party group, that a political solution of the domestic problems, persistently sought by the Chinsese state and party leadership, was impeded by the violent, bloody excess of anticonstitutional elements, and that people's power therefore felt compelled to restore order and security through the use of armed force. The People's Chamber stressed that, it views the events in Beijing exclusively as an internal affair of the PRC and that it is opposed to all foreign intervention. The deputies of the highest people's representative body expressed their firm conviction that the PRC state and party leadership, in close conjunction with the people, is taking steps which served to remove the problems and to further the progress of the Chinese fraternal people on the path of socialism, freely chosen 40 years ago.

With regard to further meetings of SED Politburo members with representatives of fraternal parties, Herrmann said that Nicolae Ceausescu and Herman Axen reaffirmed the usefulness of the all-around and comradely exchange of opinions and experience between the fraternal parties, and the need to successfully implement joint commitments. Erich Honecker praised Cuba's staunchness and firmness of principles in the complicated international class conflict vis-a-vis leading representatives of Cuba, and gave the assurance that the SED and the GDR will continue to stand at the side of the Cuban people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In talks between former SFRY President Raif Dizdarevic and Erich Honecker, a mutual readiness was announced to consolidate the friendly relations and all-around cooperation on the tried and tested basis. Both sides supported a continuation of the political dialogue at all levels and the expansion of direct contacts.

Further talks of SED Politburo members with representatives of the party and state leaderships of Bulgaria, China, and CSSR, Yugoslavia, the DPRK, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Vietnam testified to the intensive exchange of opinions and experience with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. At the central level, the SED received 27 delegations, while 17 SED delegations visited fraternal parties on fact-finding missions.

The SED, Herrmann stressed, will continue to be guided in its policy by the fact "that every socialist country should develop conditions in accordance with socialism, and that every country should bear the general responsibility for this to its own people. If bourgeois politicians and ideologues use the diversity of socialist development as an opportunity to drive a wedge between the socialist countries, then these intentions will not be fulfilled. Our party will continue to fulfil its internationalist duty, through developing socialism in the GDR as effectively as possible, in order that it can do all in its power, in the spirit of mutual solidarity and support, to implement the existing agreements with the fraternal countries, and to develop relations."

Referring to Haile Mariam's friendly visit to the GDR, Herrmann said that Erich Honecker had reinforced to the Ethiopian representive, the GDR's firm solidarity with Ethiopia. He had supported all efforts for the settlement of the situation which had arisen in the north of the country, in the interest of internal peace and of further social and economic progress, and has welcomed every step toward the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Honecker had assured the Mozambique representative, Joaquim Chissano, that the GDR supported all activities and measures taken by Mozambique and the other Frontline States to guarantee national independence, political stability, and the social and economic development of these countries in the interest of their people.

The GDR had purposefully continued its efforts for the further development of relations with capitalist countries. Political dialogue and shaping of contractual relations, stability and dynamism of cooperation, characterized relations between the GDR and Sweden. This had been made clear during the state visit of Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.

"In accordance with the tasks set by the 11th party congress," Herrmann continued, "the securing of peace was also at the center of the diverse relations between the GDR and the FRG. Since Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987, these relations have in general developed positively. The joint communique laid the foundations for this. In the future, too, all points of this must be fulfilled.

"In a 10 February letter to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Comrade Erich Honecker confirmed that the GDR sees the core of political dialogue to be the active promotion of the process of disarmament and detente by both German states. Lasting security and mutually advantageous cooperation to the benefit of the people are attainable only through a halt to the arms race, unconditional disarmament, genuine confidence-building, and complete normalization of relations between the countries.

"This continues to demand a sense of reality for the conditions which have arisen as a result of the second world war and its aftermath, which led 40 years ago, to the founding of two states with different social systems on German soil. Both states are independent in the resolution of their internal and external affairs, and assume—and this, too, is referred to in the communique—that the inviolability of borders, and the respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty of all countries in Europe within their present borders, is a fundamental requirement for peace. To this extent, one can only agree with those politicians in East and West, in North and South, who see the very preservation of these principles as a factor for peace, security, and detente in Europe.

"In view of the spread of activities of neo-Nazi forces in the FRG, the SED, the DKP [West German Communist Party], and the SEW [Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin], on the basis of the bitter lessons of the past, in a joint appeal, urged all peace-loving and antifascist and democratically-minded people in Europe to halt neoNazism and military danger together," Herrmann said. "In the document the question is asked of the Bonn coalition parties, to what extent they themselves are preparing the ground for neo-Nazi forces through nationalist positions and through a policy of drastic social cuts, mass unemployment, the new poverty, toleration of xenophobia, job denial, and the violation of human rights.

"The recent elections in the FRG to the EC Parliament and at local government level in the federal states of Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland have made clear to the world in a terrible way how great the neoNazis

influence already is. They have already penetrated the parliaments in both the FRG and Berlin (West). Now they will also enter the so-called European Parliament in Strasbourg. What just a few months ago was claimed to be a short-lived phenomenon in the life of the Federal Republic, is refuted by the fact that there are towns there in which this party, led by a former member of the 'Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler', was able to obtain up to 20 and 25 percent of the votes. In all three elections, the CDU/CSU suffered, on its own admission, a heavy defeat. The drop in votes makes it plain that the present government no longer has a majority among the voters of the FRG.

"The reason why we are concerning ourselves with the spread of neoNazi forces in the FRG," Herrmann said, "is because of the danger this development poses to peace in Europe. This is not a matter of interference in the FRG's internal affairs, but of a violation of the Potsdam Agreement principles, according to which the main lesson after World War II which was unleashed by Hitler's Germany was the commitment to eradicate Nazism with all its roots and to make its resurrection impossible for all time. Fulfillment of this principle is more topical than ever in the FRG and also in Berlin (West), and relieves no politician, of whatever persuasion, of his responsibility. In mutual interest in objective cooperation between the two German states, Comrade Erich Honecker had talks with the ministers and senat presidents of the FRG lands of Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Wuerttemberg, and Lower Saxony. In meetings with Bjoern Engholm, Henning Voscherau, and Johannes Rau, the agreement between the SED and the SPD in matters of safeguarding of peace and the security partnership dominated. The Social Democratic politicians opposed the modernization of the nuclear short-range weapons stationed in the FRG, and spoke in favor of a third zero option. In the talks with the CDU politicians Lothar Spaeth and Ernst Albrecht, it was emphasized that the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons is vitally important, particularly for the citizens of the two German states."

On the 25 May, Erich Honecker received SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel for a further exchange of views on current developments in the international situation, and on questions of bilateral relations between the GDR and the FRG and relations between the SED and the SPD, Herrmann continued. "The yearly meeting, which is now traditional, between the representatives of the SED and the SPD, confirmed the firm resolve of both countries to continue further along the path of security partnership, dialogue, and cooperation between socialists and social democrats in the vital matters of humanity. According to Erich Honecker, the GDR will continue to strive to free German soil of ABC [atomic bacteriological, and chemical] weapons.

"Regarding the document drawn up by the SPD's basic values commission and the Academy of Social Sciences in the SED Central Committee, entitled 'The Conflict of Ideologies and Joint Security,' there have been many discussions by leading representatives of both parties on questions of security policy. The usefulness of objective debates on disarmament was emphasized, and it was also stressed that peaceful coexistence between countries can never mean ideological coexistence. The striving for civilized forms of conflict can never mean convergence of the two social systems, nor any blurring of their fundamental differences. According to certain speeches, such as that by Mr Eppler in the Bundestag, it is also necessary to clarify the fact that it can only be harmful to the disarmament and security policy, if all that is offered are old theories of rolling-back socialism, left over from the cold war period and presented in new packaging."

Egon Krenz's meetings with Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chairman of the SPD and minister-president of Saarland, as well as the talks which Guenter Mittag held in the FRG during his visit to the Hannover fair, his meetings with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Federal Economics Minister Haussmann, FDP Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff, and Oskar Lafontaine, served the normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG, Herrmann concluded.

"Contrary to repeated and purposeful attempts from the West to thrust (West) Berlin back into the stalemate of the cold war, a policy of good-neighborliness between the GDR and (West) Berlin is a fundamental part of our efforts for detente and peace, since this is an essential element in securing peace in central Europe. It is significant, therefore, that during the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin, member of the SPD Executive and chairman of the SPD in (West) Berlin, in Schloss Niederschoenhausen on 19 June 1989, both interlocutors agreed in describing the policy of peace and detente as a requirement for good-neighborly relations. On the basis of respect for the realities of the situation, the strict preservation and full application of the Four Power agreement and the willingness to negotiate, predictability, mutual trust, and reliability were the yardsticks of a new quality in mutual relations. Correspondingly, as a result of the meeting and in the interests of both sides, a whole series of clearly forward-moving steps in the areas of economy, environmental protection, culture, science, and tourist and local traffic could be agreed.

"Since the talk, Walter Momper has highly praised the content, results, and course of the talk. He said that the overall atmosphere of the talk had been excellent. The significant results of the meeting were an important success for the Senate, and, not least, were the fruit of the long-standing talks between the West Berlin SPD and the SED."

Over the past months, too, the SED has undertaken a variety of measures to further expand dialogue and cooperation with communist, socialist, and social democrat parties. Herrmann said of this: "Our solidarity is

extended to all forces that support democratic alternatives to the course of the conservative forces of monopoly capitalism in the interests of the working people and that are working for social progress and peace." The SED stands firmly at the side of the fraternal parties that are forced to struggle outside the law. It is allied in solidarity with political prisoners, all patriots and democrats in Chile, South Africa, Paraguay, Turkey, Iran, and other countries.

The common ground and collaboration in the struggle to safeguard peace and for disarmament has been the focal point of the exchange of views and experience with Communists and Social Democrats. The high points here were Erich Honecker's talks with the chairmen of the communist parties of Denmark and Luxembourg.

The safeguarding of peace, measures for the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, the struggle for social progress, and the democratization of international economic relations, were the subjects of the exchange of views and experience with leading politicians and representatives of political parties in Africa, Asia, and Latin America: "The GDR is guided by the fact that overcoming the problems of backwardness, poverty, hunger, and the more than $1.3 billion foreign debt which burdens the developing countries, and the settlement of regional conflicts is acquiring increasing importance for the preservation of peace and security and for the allround development of these countries. We support an objective discussion of the constructive proposals of the USSR, Cuba, and other states for a global and just settlement of the debt crisis, and we welcome the intensified efforts of many states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America for an improvement in their position and for a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. Based on this consideration of principle, the GDR welcomes the start to the independence process for Namibia on the basis of Resolution 435/78 of the UN Security Council."

It is becoming more and more strongly recognized that, an international Middle East conference under the aegis of the United Nations, attended by all those involved, including Israel and the PLO and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, is the most suitable way to achieve a just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement to the prolonged conflict in this region. This was emphasized also in Erich Honecker's meetings with Yasir 'Arafat. Erich Honecker had confirmed that the GDR will continue its support and solidarity for the struggle of the Palestinian people.

"The GDR welcomes the persistent actions of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan for a peaceful resolution of the conflict situation in Afghanistan, on the basis of the Geneva agreements of April 1988," Herrmann continued. "We give solidarity and support to the Republic of Afghanistan and to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, as well as to their proposals for forming a government on the broadest of foundations, and of conducting an international conference on Afghanistan under the aegis of the United Nations."

The GDR sees the documents of the Central American summit conference as constructive steps, guided by reason and realism, indicating a practicable path to a stable and lasting peace in the region. It will continue in future to show firm friendship and active solidarity for Nicaragua.

The GDR welcomes further progress in the peaceful resolution of the Cambodia problem, which is emerging with the informal meeting of those concerned, and in particular as a result of the flexible and constructive positions of the Cambodian and Vietnamese leaderships.

Herrmann noted on domestic questions that, a great popular movement developed in the 40th year of the GDR's founding, and on the occasion of the local elections, in preparation for the 12th SED Congress. "It is due to the insight of the citizens of our country that high economic performances are preconditions for successful continuation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy." It is, therefore, a matter, in the interests of supplying the citizens well and of solving export tasks, of high labor productivity, effectiveness and quality with lower prices, a matter of production, according to contract, in quantity, range, quality, and value.

The trade union elections emphasized, Herrmann underscored, "that the trade unions are constructive partners on the soil of socialism in the GDR, and are taking an active part in exercing the power of the workers and peasants. Their word has great weight in our state. Our party's Central Committee underlines that the trade unions enjoy high authority and a high reputation in our eyes. They only know one aim—the well-being of the people and peace. For this reason they have our complete support, for this reason we support all their activities, and the determination in daily labor with which the trade union members and the officials democratically elected by them, further advance our common cause, the shaping of a developed socialist society."

Referring to the economic results in the 1989 national economic plan, Herrmann noted that the dynamic and stable economic growth has continued. By the end of May, the produced national income rose by 4 percent. This is due entirely to increased labor productivity. Specific production consumption was reduced by 1.2 percent. Net production for industry rose by 4.6 percent, thereby again producing a decisive contribution to the increase in national income. In the construction industry, net production rose by 3.8 percent, in the agricultural and forestry sector it rose by 1.4 percent, and in the transport, post, and telecommunications sector by 0.8 percent. The achievements of industrial combines were decisive for the positive national economic overall

result. "In all these achievements we do not overlook the fact that there are still some unwarranted differences between combines and enterprises," Herrmann stressed.

"The rock-burst in the Werra area on 13 March this year, caused by the pumping under pressure of effluents from FRG potash mines, led to considerable damage to citizens personal property and to the GDR national economy," Herrmann continued. "The rock-burst resulted in great consternation and sympathy on the part of the citizens of the GDR and brought about wide action in solidarity. The Politburo immediately established all the measures necessary for the normalization of life and the reconstruction of the destroyed homes and facilities. Help was, and is, being given to every one of the citizens affected."

In accordance with the unity of economic and social policy, the growing economic performance made it possible for the economy to maintain the material and cultural standard of living which the people have achieved, and to increase it further according to plan, Herrmann explained further.

The housing construction program, the core of social policy, has been briskly further implemented, Herrmann said. "This year, 82,490 homes were newly built or modernized up to the end of May. Living conditions thus improved for a further 247,000 people." It continues to be necessary to devote special attention to construction. "This is all the more necessary because, behind the overall positive results, lie many plan backlogs."

Rising labor productivity goes hand-in-hand with an increase in wages. This year, in accordance with the plan progressive, performance-stimulating productivity pay has been introduced in more enterprises for 550,000 working people. Up to the end of May, the population's net monetary income rose by 3 percent. Retail trade turnover rose in the same period by 4 percent. Supplies to the population of basic foodstuffs have been reliably guaranteed.

As far as the pensionable age for men and women is concerned, no changes are envisioned, Herrmann stressed. "Naturally, as hitherto, working people who have reached the pension age of 60 or 65 can continue to work and, if their health is of the required standard, remain in work for as long as they wish. In the case of continued work after pensionable age they receive both their pension and the wage due to them in accordance with their performance."

The Politburo drew the attention of the general directors and leading economic officials to the high level of discipline required in fulfilling the planned tasks with a correct range of goods, both with regard to the thousands of small things and also with regard to high-value products. This includes always supplying high quality. Only when all aspects of supply are carefully and conscientiously taken into account, can the people experience good plan fulfillment in everyday life, too. In services and repairs for the population, the publicly owned enterprises of the local service sector and utilities registered a growth of 4.6 percent to the end of May.

"It is proof of the continuity and purposefulness of our party's policy that, over a long period of time, we have developed the retail trade and gastronomy in all their variety and that publicly owned trade, the consumer cooperatives, and the private traders, restaurant owners, and craftsmen are together fulfilling the important tasks in supplying the population," Herrmann stressed. The share of private trade in meeting supply tasks has risen. At present, 20 percent of all stores and over 40 percent of the restaurants are run privately.

It is important to further increase speed, above all in scientific-technical top performances, in order to use the possibilities of high and key technologies, in particular microelectronics, more and more effectively for an increase in labor productivity, an increase in quality, and a reduction of productive consumption and costs, Herrmann said. He cited example figures: The production of semiconductor components and electronic modules increased up to the end of May by 25.4 percent compared with the previous year. Up to the end of May this year, 25,877 computers were manufactured in the GDR. The production of industrial robots was also speeded up. "The material-technical basis for the comprehensive modernization of production installations and socialist rationalization was able again to be considerably extended. Time gains were achieved in essential areas and top products were thereby used in the national economy more rapidly."

Socialist rationalization is being achieved single-mindedly throughout the GDR. "It is a matter thereby of increasing labor productivity in order to secure and further expand the people's living standards, it is a matter of improving working and living conditions without fearing for the preservation of jobs. That is the basis for the active cooperation of millions of working people in socialist rationalization."

The testing of the principle of comprehensive self-generation of means for intensively extended reproduction is being successfully continued in 16 combines. In the 1 and ½ years since the beginning of the tests, it has been shown that a strong interest in high realized profit promotes the complex tapping of the reserves of performance and effectivity growth on behalf of the economic strategy. Based on positive experiences in these combines, the Politburo has decided to incorporate another 40 combines, beginning with the working out of the plan for 1990, in the work for the comprehensive self-generation of means. "By the end of the current 5-year plan, experiences in the application of the principle of comprehensive self-generation of means will thereby be available in all areas of material production. Step by step, this principle will be further developed as an

integral part of the socialist planned economy in the unity of continuity and renewal, and will be applied more and more comprehensively."

"The Politburo affirms our party's firm position to contribute actively to the deepening of cooperation in science and production with the CEMA member countries in the interests of strengthening socialism in every country and in the community as a whole," Herrmann stressed. "It it thereby a matter of further expanding proven forms of cooperation, and at the same time boldly stepping out on new paths in the solution of tasks which have appeared."

On the tasks concerned with the commencement and carrying out of negotiations on the conclusion of a trade agreement for the GDR with the EEC, he said: "In order to preserve the foreign economic interests of the GDR, it is necessary to be geared already now, without compromise, to qualitatively higher demands on the scientific-technical level of performance and the quality of export products."

Herrmann gave information on the aid given by the GDR to developing countries in 1988. In 1988, that totalled M2.2 billion. That was equivalent to 0.82 percent of the national income.

On foreign trade, Herrmann said that an export surplus was achieved. Exports to the USSR were realized by means of high plan discipline. By the end of May, the planned exports to the USSR had been fulfilled by 108 percent.

In the report period, the Politburo had made further determinations on the working out of the 5-year plan for the development of the GDR's national economy in the period 1991-95. "The determinations are based, in full accord with the unity of economic and social policy, on the safeguarding of the future development of the national economy by means of dynamism, stability, increasing effectivity, and quality. We allow ourselves thereby, to be guided by the proven principle that the increasing economic strength of our country is and remains the solid foundation for a growing standard of living, for social security, full employment, high educational level, and free health care."

On agriculture, Herrmann said that the cooperative farmers and workers have achieved great performances in order to create favorable conditions during this year's spring cultivation for high yields in crop production. In view of the existing water shortage and the weather conditions from March this year, the Politburo has urged that all available capacities and possibilities for sprinkling and irrigation should be used to the greatest extent possible, with the utilization of all water resources, and that they should be fully exploited around the clock on a shift-work basis.

The losses in yields and in the contribution to the national income that occurred in 1988 has been critically analyzed. "The relevant conclusions primarily concern the still more effective application of socialist enterprise management to lower unit imput and to improve the cost-benefit ration, the further shaping of the regional and brigade principle in the organization of production and work, the carrying through of the performance principle, and the still closer linking of science and farming practice. In this way, the goals of comprehensive intensification, as set by the 11th party congress and the 13th farmers' congress, which are to achieve high yields in crop and animal production with falling costs and increasing labor productivity, are to be purposefully further implemented."

On the GDR local elections, Herrmann said that the election result of 7 May had national and international importance in view of the many-layered development in the world. "It confirms how much socialism becomes the affair of the whole people, of all classes and levels when its laws are respected and applied creatively in accordance with concrete national conditions. The elections documented how the GDR is developing in a politically stable and economically successful way, how the policies of our party, directed toward continuity and renewal, correspond with the citizens' interests. The election result reflects the constructive alliance policy of our party, the trusting cooperation of the parties and social organizations in the democratic bloc and in the National Front, the political-moral unity of our people. It is proof of the citizens' trust in the joint work of realizing the SED's social strategy, an expression of the certainty of the secure perspective of our worker's and peasants' state, and of a readiness to work with us, plan with us, and govern with us. Now our party will do everything, together with the forces united in the National Front, together with the citizens, to realize the election program for the well-being of our people in every way. Further steps to develop our election system and socialist democracy are linked with the local elections of this year, and these have found a spirited response among the voters."

Through the use of the West's electronic media, the class enemy has attempted, more than in the past, to negatively influence the election in the GDR and to mobilize oppositional forces. "There was an objective and consistent reaction to provocations from representatives of certain groupings. Those who called for a boycott of the elections were clearly rebuffed by the impressive vote of the electors.

"The close cooperation of the SED with the other parties and organizations united in the democratic bloc and the National Front, has continued to develop well, for the benefit of the socialist society, and thus for the benefit of all citizens," Herrmann noted. "The SED reaffirms to the parties in friendly alliance with it in the GDR, that the constant improvement of comradely and trustful relations is, and will remain, a basic component of the social strategy of the party of the working class. The tried and

tested principles of the democratic block and the National Front are irreplaceable for the successful continuation of our joint course, which is directed toward the people's wellbeing and the strengthening of socialism."

Herrmann described the "Whitsun meeting of the FDJ" as an inspiring demonstration of the young generation's solidarity with the policy of the SED and with the socialist homeland. It has been confirmed that "the young generation feels itself closely allied with our party policy of clear goals, that it supports it and thus proves how much it sees its life's prospects in socialism." Young people need a clear picture of the world and of friend and foe. "Youth education is and will remain for us primarily class education in the unity of conveying political-ideological knowledge, proving oneself in practice and moral development."

Herrmann gave an assessment of the ninth pedagogical congress of the GDR held in mid-June in Berlin. It was a great democratic forum, at which 120 teachers from all sectors of the eduction system had spoken. Participants proclaimed their desire and their determination "to do everything in their power to educate our children, our youth in the spirit of socialism, peace, progress, and proletarian internationalism, and in the spirit of love and loyalty to our socialist homeland."

"The NVA [National People's Army] has guaranteed the required defense capability under all conditions," Herrmann noted. "Political and military training takes place in accordance with the defense character of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact participant states. No one is threatened by this." Watchfulness and defense readiness remain necessary. "The measure of our defense efforts is determined by the degree of potential threat. That corresponds to the interests of our citizens in peace."

Joachim Herrmann went on to talk about the results and further development of competitive and mass sport. "The Politburo welcomes the intention of the city of Leipzig to apply, at the given time, to the IOC [International Olympic Committee] to stage the summer Olympic Games in 2004. That corresponds to the traditions and high performances of GDR sport, which always feels itself obliged to the Olympic idea," he said.

The history and present of the communist movement should never be allowed to capitulate to subjective methods of observation or economic considerations, but should be subject solely to the principle of historical veracity, Herrmann said further. "That is true especially at a time when our political and ideological opponents intend to soil the history of socialism by means of a wide-ranging campaign of defamation, aimed at discrediting its present and putting its future into question. He who views socialism as an 'error of history', only makes the wish the father to the thought. The transition from capitalism to socialism is an objective process which takes place in accordance with the laws of class struggle. Those are basic truths of the materialist view of history which no one can banish from the world."

The Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat have determined all necessary political and organizational measures for carrying out the exchange of party documents, in the period of September to December 1989, in an orderly manner and according to plan, Herrmann said. "In this task we take the view that the exchange of documents is an important political and inner-party event as a firm element of our party's preparations for its 12th party congress."

In conclusion, Herrmann underscored that the SED and all forces united in the National Front have now turned their sights on the historic event of 40 years of the GDR. "Together we have achieved, with the founding and development of the GDR, a change in the history of our people and of Europe. Socialism is rooted on German soil, in the homeland of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, forever and irrevocably. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, the working class, together with its alliance partners, has learned to lead a modern state, a state which faces the challenges of the times today as well, and which overcomes them successfully to the advantage of all citizens."

Plenum To Continue 23 Jun

LD2206181589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The eighth session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee began in Berlin today. The Politburo report was presented by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. The debate began.

The Central Committee session will continue tomorrow.

SED Plenum Resumes

LD2306084389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The eighth session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee continued this morning with a discussion of the Politburo report.

The report was presented yesterday by Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee.

Human Rights Groups Protest Chinese Events

Activists Denounce Events

LD2206153389 Hamburg DPA in German 1257 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A total of 25 peace, human rights, and environmental groups in the GDR have denounced the "inhumane behavior" of the Chinese Army and the death sentences there, and in this connection they condemned the statements made by their state up to now. "The open acceptance of the present internal policy of the Chinese leadership by our government appears to us to also be an expression of their general rejection of democratization efforts." The groups and initiatives, who are mostly close to the church, stress this in a joint statement that was released in East Berlin today. The latest statement by the GDR People's Chamber and the reporting in the GDR media "in our opinion, prove their tremendous degree of willful ignorance vis-a-vis the inhumanity of the actions of the powers-that-be in China."

A group of approximately 50 citizens from Quedlinburg and other towns have stated in a petition to Erich Honecker, the chairman of the Council of State, and to the PRC ambassador in East Berlin that "this Chinese Government has endangered the creditability of socialism in the whole world. We are very sad and infuriated about the murder of thousands of peaceful young people," it says in the letter to the embassy. The signatories focus on Honecker their expectation that the GDR Government will condemn "this murderous policy" of the Chinese leadership. Honecker should be in favor of breaking off economic relations with China.

The Ilmenau peace group and others call for diplomatic relations with China to be broken off. This appeal had been read out at all church services in Altenburg since the beginning of June.

In Halle, a church solidarity function had been classified by state representatives as a "counterrevolutionary function" and one church representative has been warned. In Leipzig, some students and church workers are wearing as a sign of mourning, a small black-edged Chinese flag on their clothes to shows their solidarity with the Chinese people.

Action groups have also reported critical questions in various enterprises and universities. Discussions in some enterprises about the reporting in the GDR media has, in individual cases, led to disciplinary punishment for persistent questioners. "We are convinced that the disregard of basic human rights cannot be the so-called internal affairs of a state," it says in the declaration of the 25 groups, among which are the Peace and Human Rights Initiative [Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte] in East Berlin, the Justice [Gerechtigkeit] working group in Leipzig, as well as initiatives and groups from Zittau, Dresden, Altenburg, Ilmenau, and Grosshennersdorf.

Demonstrators Arrested

LD2206222789 Hamburg DPA in German 2116 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—On Thursday evening, around 30 members of peace and human rights groups were detained in East Berlin, because they intended to hand over a protest resolution against the executions in China to the Chinese Embassy. The group was already on its way to the diplomatic mission in the Pankow Area, when it was intercepted by security forces and transported away on two lorries, informed circles in West Berlin reported.

Soon after the massacre in Beijing, members of the group wanted to protest to the Chinese Embassy in East Berlin against the actions of the Chinese leadership. At that time they were also prevented from doing this, were detained temporarily, and had to pay fines. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Fined, Released

LD2306074589 Hamburg DPA in German 0656 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The demonstrators detained in East Berlin yesterday evening have been released. According to reports from informed circles in West Berlin today, they were released around midnight. Fines of between 300 and 500 marks were imposed on the 30 or so members of peace and human rights groups, who wanted to deliver a protest petition against the executions in China. The fines, it was reported, were given because of disturbance to public order. [passage omitted]

Honecker Appoints 'High-Ranking' Police Officers

LD2206162189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1731 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the German people's police, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, appointed high-ranking police officers. Majors General Heinrich Franke and Egon Gruening were appointed lieutenants general. People's police Colonels Dirk Bachmann, Dr Manfred Gessner, Gerhard (Hoetling), senior medical officer Dr Gerd Koehler, Heinz Kuehne and Gerhard Strassenburg were appointed majors general.

Their appointment was attended by Egon Krenz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and

head of the German people's police, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, national defense council secretary, as well as by Wolfgang Herger, director of the Central Committee security department.

Stoph To Pay Official Visit to Bulgaria

AU2206090289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Stoph Will Travel to the People's Republic of Bulgaria"]

[Text] East Berlin—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, will pay an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 29 and 30 June of this year. He is taking up an invitation by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Swedish Defense Ministry Delegation Visits

Delegation Visits NVA

AU2206115989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Swedish Delegation Visits NVA Members"]

[Text] East Berlin—A delegation of the Defense Ministry of the Kingdom of Sweden, headed by Minister Roine Carlsson, started a several-day visit to the GDR on Monday [19 June]. It was cordially welcomed by Wolfgang Reinhold, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Air Force and Air Defense Command, at the "Heinrich Rau" Fighter Aircraft Wing of the National People's Army [NVA]. Commander Colonel Ralf Wukasch briefed the visitors on the assignment of the members of this troop unit to reliably protect the air space of the GDR. In this, pilots, engineers, and security forces are cooperating closely with their brothers-in-arms and the allied armed forces within the air defense system of the Warsaw Pact. During an inspection tour, the delegation was shown military technology and equipment, and held talks with army members. The fighter aircraft pilots demonstrated their skills with the start of a squadron.

Accompanied by Deputy Defense Minister Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, chief of the People's Navy Command, the members of the delegation visited the Born unit of the GDR Naval Forces. From aboard a ship they observed elements of combat training at sea.

Swedish Delegation Departs

LD2206213989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR defense minister, and his Swedish counterpart, Roine Carlsson, today praised the significance of the visit by a delegation of the Swedish Defense Ministry to the GDR. During a concluding exchange of views between Kessler and the Swedish delegation, they assessed the visit as an expression of the determination on both sides to continue in a useful way the relations which are developing well between the GDR's NVA [National People's Army] and the Swedish Armed Forces in the interests of both peoples and states, as well as in the interest of preserving peace in Europe.

The delegation, which held talks with many public figures and viewed installatins of the NVA, was seen off with a military ceremony at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport today after a visit lasting several days.

Afghan Parliamentary Delegation Continues Visit

Stoph Meets Afghans

AU2206103789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting With Afghan Parliamentarians at the GDR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Monday [19 June], Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received a delegation of the Council of Representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan, headed by Deputy Chairman Zuhurullah Zuhuri. During the meeting, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the development of friendly relations between the two states and spoke in favor of further strengthening them. The visit by the parliamentarians from Afghanistan is providing fresh impulses for cooperation between the GDR and Afghanistan, they stated.

Willi Stoph stressed, that the GDR respects the successes of the Republic of Afghanistan in safeguarding the country's sovereignty and independence. It supports the constructive course of the Afghan leadership aimed at restoring a peaceful situation in the country, and advocates the comprehensive implementation of the Geneva Afghanistan accords by all sides concerned.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers briefed the Afghan visitors on the efforts of the GDR's working people in the 40th year of the Republic's existence to implement the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Zuhurullah Zuhuri conveyed thanks from the Afghan people for the GDR's solidarity and support. The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan will continue to do everything possible to implement the course of national reconciliation and to ensure a secure future for the country. The most recent proposals by President Najibullah for a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem testify to this.

The meeting was attended by People's Chamber Deputy Werner Kirchhoff. Jaylani Bakhtari, Afghan ambassador, was also present.

In Berlin, on Monday, deputies of the highest GDR people's representative body and the members of the Afghan delegation of parliamentarians, spoke in favor of expanding friendly cooperation between parliamentarians of the two countries. During a working meeting at the official building of the People's Chamber, Werner Kirchhoff, member of the Constitutional and Legal Committee (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) and vice president of the National Front National Council, as well as the head of the Afghan delegation, Zuhurullah Zuhuri, pointed out common goals in the struggle to safeguard peace. The guests were particularly interested in the work and composition of the 15 committees and 10 groups of the People's Chamber.

The Afghan delegation is ending its several-day visit to the GDR today, Tuesday [20 June].

Krolikowski Receives Delegation

AU2206104789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Views at Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] East Berlin—Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Zuhurullah Zuhuri, deputy chairman of the Afghan Council of Representatives, met for an exchange of views on the international situation and the development of bilateral relations on Monday [19 June].

Herbert Krolikowski reaffirmed the commitment of the socialist German state to the peaceful settlement of international and regional conflicts. The GDR is supporting all efforts that are aimed at an early political solution to the Afghanistan issue, he pointed out.

Zuhurullah Zuhuri expressed his appreciation for the GDR's active peace policy and conveyed thanks for the GDR's help and support. He explained the course of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, which is aimed at bringing about at a solution through internal dialogue that is acceptable to all sides.

The partners in the talk paid tribute to the state of relations between the GDR and Afghanistan and spoke in favor of further expanding them.

Tanks Prepared for Dismantling, Scrapping

LD2106123289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1011 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The GDR's unilateral disarmament steps, announced at the beginning of the year by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, are being implemented according to plan. Today journalists from all over the world were able to see this for themselves in installations of the National People's Army [NVA], in the Goerlitz District, in Kreis-Bezirk, and in Dresden, with the dismantling and scrapping of tanks.

The combat technology of the type T-55A was withdrawn at the end of April from the six NVA tank regiments, which are to be disbanded by October this year. According to a resolution of the GDR National Defense council, in addition to this the National People's Army will be reduced by 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft; 1 air squadron will be disbanded and the expenditure on national defense will be reduced by 10 percent.

In the Goerlitz Town Hall, officers from the GDR Defense Ministry outlined details about scrapping the tanks or their utilization in the economy, to approximately 80 representatives from the press, news agencies, radio and television stations from 8 countries and West Berlin.

Lieutenant Colonel Uwe Hempel referred to the fact that at present 124 tanks from the regiments which are to be disbanded are on the Charlottenhof dismantling field. Space will soon be created here for an additional 192 tanks from these regiments, as well as 54 of the same type from other troop units. Since 16 May, 11 tanks have already been prepared for the blast furnaces. According to the current information, approximately 150 tanks are to be deployed in the economy, mainly in the lignite industry. The lieutenant colonel stressed the GDR's desire for disarmament and the consistent implementation of its decision to reduce. "Over and above this, we view every step toward the radical reduction of the Armed Forces and conventional armaments in Europe as extremely responsive to the times", he said. "In this sense we are directing our hopes toward speedy results at the Vienna negotiations. The summit meeting of the North Atlantic Alliance and the proposals announced by U.S. President George Bush, are an immediate cause for this. A definite rapprochement to the positions of the Warsaw Pact member states is unmistakeable." The henceforth stated readiness to also include fighter aircraft and helicopters in the negotiations will "from our point of view, enable first results of the negotiations to be achieved as soon as possible, with the good will of the two sides."

At the NVA Charlottenhof camp, where several railway transports from NVA tank regiment stations have ended in the past few weeks, the journalists saw numerous tracked vehicles which have already been disarmed. At other places lay the 100-mm cannons, which had been taken off the tank turrets, and also tank tracks, stabilizers, elevation and traversing mechanisms, optical equipment, carriages for anti-aircraft machine guns and radio technology.

The next site was the NVA Ostritz equipment camp, to where the tank undercarriages were brought by flatbed transporter and where outside parts, engines, gears,

tanks, seats, air-vents and other components are being removed, and where what is left is being dismantled into pieces suitable for blast furnaces.

Resurgence of Neo-Nazism in FRG Criticized
AU2106134389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "On Resurgence of Neo-Nazis and Those Who Pave the Way for It"]

[Text] The spread of the brown plague in the FRG has caused dismay and concern among the public. Whereas the showing of the "Republicans," led by SS man Schoenhuber, during local elections in the past months was an initial clear warning, the neo-Nazis have now made their first coup at the federal level at the EC elections last weekend [17-18 June]. And this is the first time that the FRG will send neo-Nazis to the EC Parliament.

How is it possible that neo-Nazism is growing like a cancerous ulcer in the FRG 40 years after its founding? The increasing popularity of the pied pipers demonstrates that the responsible officials failed to take corresponding measures in the past and the present. The FRG has never really come to terms with fascism, neither after 1945 nor at any other point of its 40 years of existence. Fascism's socioeconomic roots have never been eradicated. The worst crimes committed by Nazi mass murderers have remained unpunished. This also applies to the recent final acquittal by the highest FRG court of the murderer of Ernst Thaelmann, Otto, who was allowed to work undisturbed as a teacher until his retirement.

After the first successes of the "Republicans" at the elections, the responsible politicians have not done anything to stop the increasing popularity of the "Republicans." Quite the contrary: The "Republicans" were offered an opportunity to propagandize their ideas on television. The federal post, which as a matter of fact denies jobs to postmen who are communists, distributed millions of copies of their junk mail. The police, among whose ranks there are a particularly large number of supporters and sympathizers of the "Republicans," have crushed antifascist demonstrations that were staged in protest against the rallies of neo-Nazis and against the fact that the arms race, the dismantling of the welfare state, permanent unemployment, a housing shortage, and poverty, which are the result of the government's policy, are the breeding ground for the demagogical brown seed. This state is not able to offer sufficient apprenticeships, a secure future, and moral guidelines to the young. Schools are swamped with fascist computer games which make it easier for the demagogues to do their dirty job.

A statement recently made by the leadership on the occasion of the FRG anniversary, that the country has drawn the lessons from the disastrous weaknesses of the Weimar Republic, is reduced to absurdity by the resurgence of neo-Nazis. Their activities are played down, just as the activities of their predecessors were played down at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties. A few years later, however, they assumed power. Bonn has already pointed out that the neo-Nazis are not really neo-Nazis but "only" ultra conservatives, who must be granted the same rights as all other parties that advocate the "liberal-democratic" basic order. A Bonn minister has already called for the whitewashing of the Waffen SS, and thus also of the "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler," of which Schoenhuber was a member. In addition to that, there have already been deliberations within the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union about possible coalitions with the neo-Nazis.

All this shows how right the trade union members, social democrats, communists, and members of democratic youth organizations are when they call for joint actions against neo-Nazism and against the policy that paves the way for it and opens the doors for it. The resurgence of the neo-Nazis must be stopped!

Weiz Receives Soviet Nobel Prize Winner
AU2206120389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "USSR Nobel Prize Winner Received"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Monday [19 June], Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology, received the Soviet Nobel Prize winner Prof Dr Aleksander Prokhorov, director of the General Physics Institute and academician secretary of the General Physics and Astronomy Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences. During the meeting, the two sides discussed questions concerning the intensification of scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and USSR, particularly in the decisive areas of the development of high technologies.

Prof Prokhorov reported on research projects and expressed appreciation for the close relations between research collectives from both countries that have developed during many years of collaboration, and which are the basis for high-level scientific achievements to the advantage of both sides.

Pozsgay on Decision for Party Chief at Plenum
LD2206134789 Budapest MTI in English 1137 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee, answered MTI's questions about the June 23 session of the Central Committee.

He says the main objective of the coming session of the Central Committee is to take a huge step in the preparations for the congress and the democratic election of an authentic party forum. He considers the most suitable date for the congress to be late September. Delegates to the congress should be directly elected by the party membership, and, if possible, taking account of local platform debates. It would be important not to hold any sessions in between, as they might divert delegates from their original mission.

He also says the Central Committee is to redefine the role and function of party president. A nominating committee headed by Jeno Fock will put forward a proposal for president. Mr Pozsgay thinks there will be a debate on a number of organizational questions as well. He says it is the right and duty of party members to express their personal views—a requirement contrasting with former practice—and so help the CC [Central Committee] session to bridge the gap between its decisions and party public opinion. Only the congress will be able satisfactorily to solve this problem. No one can question that the party's ability to function also depends on a personnel policy adjusted to the circumstances and new challenges.

Mr Pozsgay says there are no plans before the Friday session to pass a decision about the post of general secretary. Apart from the post of party president, the nominating committee is to submit proposals for filling a few vacant CC secretarial posts as well. At the same time, there are some unexpected factors at work in this volatile political atmosphere which might raise other items than those included on the agenda, such as matters relating to the persons of party leaders and the composition of the Political Committee.

The current proposal is that General Secretary Karoly Grosz should retain his post until the congress at any event. Mr Pozsgay adds there is a certain degree of legitimacy crisis within the party as well, so final and permanent solutions cannot possibly be worked out by the Central Committee on this occasion. Mr Pozsgay feels the major task of the CC will now be to make the right arrangements for the party congress, which will then be capable of passing the right decisions.

Intellectuals' Open Letter to Central Committee
AU2206133089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jun 89 p 7

["Intellectuals' Letter to the Central Committee"]

[Text] In the last few days we have received position papers from several party organizations and reform circles prior to the session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee scheduled for 23 June. We publish here the letter of the Communist intellectuals, which reflects many new ideas:

Bearing in mind Hungary's political, social, and economic situation and the situation of the party, we, the undersigned Communist intellectuals, are writing this open letter to the Central Committee and to the Communists who are concerned for the party and the fate of our nation.

At the party congress to be convened in the autumn we must work out a program that will serve as the basis of one's affiliation to the party. On the basis of the evaluation of our past and our current situation, we propose the following:

1. The party program should make it clear to everyone that our goal is a socialism that asserts the ideas of collectivism, solidarity, humanism, and democracy. The road leading to this socialism covers a long historical period. In the period of transition, the economic and ideological elements of capitalism and the gradually emerging standards of the socialist system still operate together. A political power with a socialist aim respects autonomous economic laws, but it reduces injustice in society by regulating the distribution of income.

2. Historical experience and the interests of the present Hungarian society alike require the MSZMP to strengthen its national character and independence. The MSZMP should understand that no foreign model can be copied. In its foreign relations, the party should cherish and develop its cooperation with the Communist and socialist and social-democratic parties.

Hungary is part of Eastern-Central-Europe and, in view of the multilateral division of nationalities in this region, it is extremely important to guarantee national equality, which is an indispensable part of human rights. The party should see to it that the Hungarians living beyond our borders fully enjoy these rights. The cooperation of peoples in Eastern-Central-Europe and the elimination of obstacles that hinder this cooperation are extremely important aspects of the entire development in Europe.

3. The party should continue to accept the heritage of Marxist and Leninist thinking and the valuable traditions of European and domestic development, traditions that point ahead. At the same time, the party should completely reject Stalinist ideology and political practice. The party does not regard Marxism as a "state religion" compulsory for all, nor should any other ideology become such a "state religion." The party should defend the freedom of conscience and encourage the theoretical activity aimed at implementing our strategic goals.

4. Halting the deterioration of our economic situation as soon as possible and starting a well-founded economic growth and increasing the living standard of our population are fundamental conditions for renewal. These are also fundamental conditions for the democratization of our society. In times of increasing poverty and discontent, haste and confusion could lead to a social explosion or, in an effort to avoid this explosion, to suppression. The emergence of any kind of political extremism would only cause further damage to our country and people.

Our current economy is a mixed economy based on goods production. The relatively smooth development of this transitional economy is made possible by a planning that increases the independence of our enterprises; in addition, this planning creates an organic unity of plan and market by integrating these two elements. On the one hand, the plan is a formulation of an economic and social strategy, while on the other, it is a part of the regulations; its function is to limit the undesirable and destructive effects of the market.

Consistent implementation of economic reform requires the acceleration of the economy and the supply of competitive goods to meet market demand, as well as the fullest possible guarantee of the right to work. In the economic units, institutions that represent the general interests of the employees (like enterprise committees and councils) are necessary, especially when the trade union movement is widely shifting into a professional organization.

The party should take a stand against the practice by which funds for general development are obtained to the detriment of welfare policy, health care, science, and education. The human factor is a decisive aspect of our development opportunities; we should increase the proportion of "investment" in this human factor. Income, strongly differentiated according to performance, should be based on real knowledge, ability, and social usefulness. We need a full value welfare system completely separate from this.

5. The party should make it clear that the political institutions should also fulfill the requirements of the transitional period, and that these institutions should be created on the basis of a constitutional state and a democratic constitution. The party should declare that, in order to achieve all these goals, the MSZMP is ready to form an alliance with other political and social organizations on the basis of acknowledgement and mutual respect for each other's independence. The party regards the democratic multiparty system as justified; but not only the one-party system must be exceeded but also the bourgeois multiparty system.

We should replace the current ill-matched and bureaucratic state administration with a self-government based on the citizens' sovereign enterprise, institutional, and residential representational bodies and councils. This should consistently emerge from below.

6. We should thoroughly analyze the situation of the party. The party should clearly define itself: What kind of party it wants to become in its goals and in its organization.

Neither in theory nor in practice can this party stick to the traditional class structure, which has mostly disintegrated. The party should become a party of all those who accept its program and act in the spirit of this program. Every political party needs central guidance, but the term "democratic centralism" is a historically determined political practice that has to be transcended by guaranteeing the freedom of platforms. A comprehensive democratization of party life should not mean the recognition of organizations aimed at disrupting the party causing it to disintegrate.

We support the process of separating the party from the state, and this principle should also be asserted in the composition of the party's leading bodies.

In writing this letter, the signatories were guided by the need to distance themselves from the political extremism also present in the MSZMP and by their concern and feeling of responsibility for the party, the nation, for maintaining our traditions and real values, and for a socialist future.

Budapest, 12 June 1989.

Signed by: Dr Ferenc Antoni, university professor at the Semmelweis Medical University [SOTE]; Sandor Balazs, university professor of educational sciences in Eger; Bela Balogh, general manager of the Microelectronics Enterprise; University Lecturer Mihaly Benkes, candidate of historical sciences and director general of the Collegium of the Lorant Eotvoes Science University [ELTE]; University Lecturer Sandor Berenyi, candidate of political and legal sciences at ELTE; Isvan Bihari, general manager of Chinoin Enterprises; Tibor Erenyi, doctor in historical sciences and deputy director of a scientific institute; ELTE University Professor Lajos Ficzere; Rober Hoch, deputy director of the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [MTA]; Folkore Museum Director Tamas Hoffman; Gabor Iklodi, general manager of the Elektromodul Enterprise; ELTE University Lecturer Domokos Illenyi; ELTE Scientific Staff Member Laszlo Kertesz; ELTE University Professor Bela Kirschner; ELTE University Professor Aladar Kiss; Bela Kiss, director of the Cable Manufacturing Enterprises in Miskolc; Karoly Koncz, general manager of the Telephone Factory; University Professor Jeno Kovacs, general manager of MEFAG Enterprises; University Professor Laszlo Kun of Miskolc; University Professor Laszlo Kutassi, general secretary of the Hungarian Olympia Academy; Economist Rudolf Molnar, general director of REMIX; University Professor Andor Nagy of Eger; University Professor Jozsef Nagy of Eger; ELTE University Professor Mrs Laszlo Nagy Katalin Szegvari; University Professor Dr Mihaly Orosz, head of the Department of Health Care

and Social Policy of Budapest Council; Pal Pritz, deputy head of the Social Sciences Department of the MTA; ELTE University Professor Mihaly Samu; Aladar Sipos, director of the Institute of Economic Sciences of the MTA; SOTE Rector Dr Endre Somogyi; Graphic Artist Laszlo Sos; ELTE University Professor Ferenc Schipp; Ferenc Szanto, general director of the Budapest Central Archives; University Professor Mihaly Szotaczky, dean of the Janus Pannonius Science University; Istvan Tamassy, rector of the Gardening and Food Industry University; and Gabor Vitez, secretary of the Federation of Hungarian Movie and Television Artists.

Party Reform Groups Urge Grosz' Resignation

LD2206201489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Various party organizations are publishing statements before the MSZMP Central Committee session, due to be held tomorrow, demanding that personnel changes should be carried out in the highest leadership of the ruling party which is in crisis.

Joining the founding of the reform group of Csongrad County, the reform Communists of Pecs-Baranya consider that a change of party general secretary is urgent. They say that although Karoly Grosz should be credited with dismissing the Kadar leadership, time has passed him and his comrades by.

The Nagykanizsa reform group of the MSZMP urges not only the resignation of Karoly Grosz, but also the departure of all the secretaries of the Central Committee, so that credible reform politicians can become the leaders of the party. Their reasons are that the MSZMP leaders failed to politically rehabilitate Imre Nagy, and furthermore that Karoly Grosz himself made a statement on the eve of the burial which destroyed the party's human credit and caused immeasurable damage to the party's reform policies.

The reform group and reform organization of the MSZMP's 7th district considers it important that not only should the compromised higher leaders resign but also should the members of the Central Committee who cannot work for, or do not want renewal.

The Communists of Budapest's 1 per 5 district [as heard] condemn the power struggle in the leadership, and the fact that the people concerned contradict, outbid, and discredit each other and the entire party at the same time. In harmony with other statements sent to the press, they urge change also because, together with the question of the party leadership, the political platform should be published openly too.

Party Central Committee To Meet 23 Jun

LD2206182389 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—The Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] has convened the session of the Central Committee for 9 a.m. on June 23, 1989. The Political Committee proposed to discuss the following items of the agenda:

—Proposal for convening, and making preparations for, the HSWP congress, to be presented by Karoly Grosz,

—Draft statement on the HSWP's attitude to the churches and religion, to be presented by Janos Berecz.

Plenum Opens 23 Jun

LD2306080889 Budapest MTI in English 0725 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 23 (MTI)—The Central Committee [CC] of the Hungarian Socialist workers' Party [HSWP] started a session in Budapest Friday morning. Under the proposal of the Political Committee, the CC is discussing a proposal for the order of convening, and preparing for, the HSWP congress, and a draft statement on the HSWP's attitude to the churches and religion.

Initial Briefing on Session

AU2306163089 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 23 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee started its session at 9 am on Friday morning.

On behalf of the Political Committee, HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz put forward a proposal on summoning a party congress and the arrangements. Deputy party spokesman Emil Kimmel said the general secretary's report and the subsequent debate was not merely on the date and arrangement of the congress, but also on what should be done to make sure that the work of the highest party forum be marked by the spirit of renewal.

The Central Committee will be looking with thorough analysis into domestic policy, the internal situation of the party, and issues which concern party membership and public opinion. Over twenty persons indicated their intention to contribute to the debate, and six of whom spoke by the time of this briefing at 4 pm.

The body is not expected to discussed the definition of the relation of the HSWP to churches and religion, but the topic will be put on the agenda at a later date. The first item is the question of filling in the vacant posts within the party.

The spokesman said a more detailed account of the session is to be published on Saturday.

EDU President on Talks With Opposition Members

LD2206103789 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—The European Democratic Union [EDU] seeks to support democratization in Hungary but would not like to interfere in the formation of parties, EDU President Bernhard Vogel told the press in Budapest. The members of the EDU Committee No. 1, specialized in European structures and European

policy, held talks with representatives of the Hungarian opposition parties and movements, and held a joint press conference on their conclusions on Wednesday.

Mr Vogel emphasized that the talks with the opposition complemented the exchange of views with Matyas Szuros, Imre Pozsgay and Karoly Grosz on Tuesday. On the basis of impressions gained here, they would propose that the West European countries and the advanced industrial states support the renewal of the Hungarian economy so the process of political development should not be obstructed.

Then the representatives of the opposition took the floor.

Zoltan Biro (Hungarian Democratic Forum—MDF): MDF continuously strives to maintain as broad relations as possible in Europe so democratic Hungary can come about in the soonest possible time and MDF take its place in a party structure corresponding to European democratic traditions.

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi (Alliance of Free Democrats—SZDSZ): SZDSZ holds it desirable to establish bilateral ties with the West European parties and asked EDU to support this effort.

Gyorgy Palos (Independent Smallholders' party) said that it lies in the interests of the Hungarian parties to be involved in the circuit of European policy.

Istvan Hegedus (Federation of Young Democrats—FIDESZ): FIDESZ has similar aims as other opposition organizations, and holds it important that transition to the constitutional state and the elaboration of the rules of free elections should take place with the involvement of the opposition.

Gyorgy Szakolczay (Christian Democratic People's Party) termed it as important to maintain relations with the European Christian democratic parties and movements.

Andreas Khol, representative of the Austrian People's Party, termed the talks held with the representatives of MDF, SZDSZ, Independent Smallholders' Party, Social Democratic Party of Hungary, Christian Democratic People's Party, FIDESZ and the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions very important.

Pozsgay Interviewed on New Party Ideology

LD2306113389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1002 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 23 (TANJUG)—Hungary is not separating from socialism but from the Stalinist model of socialism, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) Politbureau member Imre Pozsgay said in an interview published today in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA.

For this reason, responsible party forces demand reforms and a special party congress, Pozsgay said on the eve of today's HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee plenum.

Asked to point where, in his opinion, the border between democratic socialism and socialism democracy should be, Pozsgay said that a disassociation from the Stalinist practice and understanding of socialism is important.

The policy of a single all-knowing ideological center, which is presented as the embodiment of everything good, in practice inevitably led to bureaucratism and bloody regimes, Pozsgay said.

Judging by public opinion polls, Pozsgay is one of the most popular Hungarian politicians. The high party official said that people do not exist because of socialism, but the other way round.

Speaking on democratic socialism, Pozsgay stressed the adjective democratic means solidarity, equal chances, a civil society, mixed market economy based on the law of capital movement.

Pozsgay believes that there is a historic rapprochement between the two wings of the workers' movement—the communist and the social—democratic. In his opinion, this is the result of historical processes and for Hungary it means that it should follow the European civilization and its principles of freedom concerning human relations.

In connection with the HSWP's participation in the parliamentary elections next year, Pozsgay said the party accepted the principle of free elections and open struggle between political forces, prepared to bear the consequences. the HSWP would like an agreement, but if it is defeated it will go into opposition.

Pozsgay believes that, under certain conditions, the HSWP could win at the elections. The conditions are that it openly and resolutely says that it does not consider part of its history, to offer well defined programme which each individual will see as his own goal and adopt a cadre policy which will bring people, who are trusted in society, to leading positions.

In Pozsgay's opinion the HSWP is in a more favourable position than the ruling parties in some other East European countries. Although a number of reforms have failed, a reformist wing exists and it has never lost the trust of the people. The renewed party has great chances of staying in power, Pozsgay said.

Reszo Nyers Visits FRG, Discusses Reform Moves

Speaks on Reform, Romania, CSSR

LD2106230689 Budapest MTI in English
1532 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn, June 21 (MTI)—The reform movement in Hungary, the activity of HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the government and essential political and economic development routes, was the topic of the speech held in Bonn, by Rezso Nyers, Hungarian secretary or state, before West German business and political leaders. Referring to recent events, Mr Nyers said that Imre Nagy, former prime minister of Hungary and one of the founders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, was also the person that set Hungarian reform policy in motion. The country's leadership intends to progress on the road based on values of democratic socialism in a way that would ensure freedom to the opposition. It is the firm intention of Hungary's political powers, the HSWP and the government to hold the forthcoming elections based on free competition among the various parties. The elections will be held at the latest by June next year, prior to the end of the present parliamentary cycle, but may also be brought forward.

In response to questions about the danger of hasty elections, Mr Nyers said:

The only danger lies in the possibility of Hungarian political forces failing to bear in mind the country's geo-political situation.

Concerning the accusations voiced by Romania, that responsible Hungarian leaders have reputedly turned in the wrong direction, Mr Nyers stated: "I consider these foolish and erroneous declarations regrettable. I can only say that we will continue to reject them. In spite of all this we will continue to endeavour to establish favourable economic and political relations with Romania."

I differentiate between Romanian press statements and Czechoslovak reactions. From the latter, it is not antipathy but concern that can be felt...we have satisfactory relations with the Czechoslovak leadership, despite the fact that the country is not a reform state, Mr Nyers emphasized. At the same time Mr Nyers recalled that Czechoslovakia is shortly to take a decision on the important sensitive issue of reaching agreement on the possible cancellation by Hungary of the controversial Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project. Based on the negotiations in progress, I am hopeful that this will be achieved.

We cannot be diverted from progressing with our reforms by our non-reformist neighbours, but most also foster relations with the neighbouring countries and nations, Mr Nyers pointed out.

In response to a question he said that he held a kind of Iron Curtain still exists.

Hungary is actively participating in abolishing the Iron Curtain, which in my opinion should be fully abolished. At this stage it is primarily the economic and cultural Iron Curtain that should be abolished, and we Hungarians are taking measures in this spirit, Mr Nyers concluded.

Comments on Party Factions

LD2206115589 Budapest MTI in English
1030 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—Minister of State Rezso Nyers, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee, who is currently in Bonn, gave an interview to the correspondent of the daily NEPSZABADSAG. The Thursday issue of the paper carries the interview, which deals with the Friday session of the HSWP Central Committee and the state of affairs within the party.

Asked about the possibility of a split within the party, Mr Nyers said:

"When I left home, I didn't feel we were drifting towards a split, but that, on the contrary, we've taken a new course towards recreating party unity. In view of the arrangements, the session will undoubtedly fathom political problems and explore the question of party unity and the separate views and various trends prevalent within the party.

"As far as a split in the party is concerned, I don't think it has any objective basis in terms of ideas or political interests. This atmosphere has been brought about exclusively by cooperation problems within the party. I'm convinced there are no unsolvable contradictions between the main trends within the HSWP, such as the reformist and real political ones.

"The party is undoubtedly in crisis because of a lack of clarification in the concepts of internal trends... Apart from the reformist and real political trends that are emerging, there is no determined core in the party capable of integration. Unfortunately, the emergence of such a core is heavily obstructed by extreme views".

"On the one hand, I mean the pseudo-radical leftist view, using Marxist terminology, but in fact, opposing the party resolution of May, 1988. It also is against the decision about a multi-party system passed in February, 1989. This trend thinks in terms of a proletarian dictatorship and a centralized party. This does not coincide with the political mainstream, and is not right either from an ideological or a political point of view. If some party members feel they belong to this group, then the party should accept this as a fact, although their views and feelings run contrary to the political conviction of the majority of the party.

"On the other hand, I regard certain views—and I don't wish to offend any individuals or groups—that cherish illusions under the auspices of Hungarian reform policy, as extreme. I'm talking about those who see the struggle by Hungary, the Hungarian working classes and party movement for a socialist system as entirely negative, inefficient and unsuccessful. Those who totally underestimate the reform endeavours of the sixties and eighties.

"According to the representatives of this view, the HSWP has basically been a Stalinist party even since the mid-sixties, similar to the CPSU under Brezhnev or the Party of Labour of Albania. They do not perceive any decisive difference, if any at all, in the intensity of repression. I think this is a grave mistake. This position underestimates the changes begun in the period between 1953 and 1956 and partly present even on 4 November, 1956, in the position passed by the revolutionary worker-peasant government, to be resumed on a wider scale around 1966 and 1968. This did involve an at least partial removal from the Stalinist model, in contrast to the views of those who maintain that the main task today is still the removal of the Stalinist Model.

"Well, I see this view as another extreme. It doesn't matter that it may be held by reform-minded people—I can't accept it as realistic. Eventually, this view may conflict with the main stream of the party, including the party members, workers and professionals who want to keep on the course of reform. These extreme views should cease to exist, and then reform will really be a feasible course", Mr Rezso Nyers said.

Nyers on Political Talks in FRG

LD2206213389 Budapest MTI in English 1031 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn, June 22 (MTI)—During his three-day stay in the Federal Republic of Germany, Rezso Nyers, minister of state and member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee, held comprehensive political talks with representatives of the parties and the government of the FRG.

In a statement to the Bonn correspondent of MTI, Mr Nyers said that his negotiating partners showed keen interest in the Hungarian reforms and qualified them as a factor of European importance which also have an influence on the Western part of the continent. They emphasized their interest that the Hungarian reforms should attain their original goals but should not lead to destabilization either in Hungary or elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Some partners held the danger of destabilization is a danger on a European scale, Mr Nyers said.

A further topic was the ways and means of promoting West German capital investment in Hungary. It was stated that, although there is keen interest, some business circles and organs of Hungary's economic management are sometimes slow in the promotion of investments. There are still obstacles which have to be surmounted, the minister of state said.

Horn Discusses Cooperation With Peace Council

LD2206083489 Budapest MTI in English 0645 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—Minister of State Gyula Horn held talks with leaders of the National Peace Council in Budapest on Wednesday on the cooperation between the organization, its social movements and the state diplomacy, as well as the major objectives of the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. Mr Horn pointed out among other things that there may arise several international problems the solution of which may be considerably helped by social organizations and movements, which have a wider scope of action and mobility on the international scene.

At the same time, Mr Horn stressed that in the case of Hungary, this mutually beneficial cooperation should be based on a social consensus reached in international matters of vital importance, including the relation of Hungary to the Warsaw Treaty. Mr Horn says the notion that should sink in Hungarian minds is that although our affiliation with the WT should not be considered an permanent state, under present circumstances, its necessity should be accepted by everyone. In view of the future of Hungarian reform, it is equally important to make sure our allies understand that the changes under way in Hungary are not directed at anyone. Under this system of relations, it is crucial to the success of Hungarian reform that we maintain a normal and balanced relationship with the Soviet Union.

Cited on Reaction to Funeral

LD2206025989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] The funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates has elicited antipathy in some neighboring countries. Here is the opinion of the Hungarian foreign minister: The Hungarian foreign minister has affirmed that the country's leaders are not forgetting about fostering good relations with surrounding states. At the same time, he said that not even these countries can expect us to sacrifice the reform process for the appearance of good-neighborliness. Gyula Horn was speaking to the leaders of the National Peace Council. He also affirmed that the changes in Hungary are not directed against anyone; indeed, our normal and balanced relationship with the Soviet Union is an outright vital issue of our reform.

Editorial in Party Daily on Nagy Funeral

AU2306115189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jun 89 p 3

[Unattributed editorial: "Holding Hands for the Nation"]

[Text] The candles burnt down to their stumps in the windows before they died out—2 days have already passed since the funeral. A new working day begins

today, on Monday, and our life has become richer with the important experience of national self-awareness. We can say that the respectful memorial ceremony in Heroes Square was worthy of the occasion: It reflected our compatriots' awareness of life and our ability to finally face our own history, including the prevailing blank spots, and to review our past concepts. The fact that the premier and the parliament chairman were present at this event also demonstrated that the leaders of today's Hungary advancing on the road of reforms were remembering with respect and appreciation those who would have liked to start on the same road more than 3 decades ago, ahead of their time to a certain respect.

We have begun to advance strongly and firmly on the road leading to Hungarian national reconciliation. This reconciliation can be only universal and comprehensive, because it should encompass everyone. The example of Spain also teaches us that after so many decades bones crumble, and the question of who was on which side in the fatal hours also loses its importance: The dead no longer wage wars. Of course, reconciliation cannot take place overnight, and it will probably take years—years of debate and of deepening historical awareness—but this day in June was a watershed. We have crossed the Rubicon leading from the past toward the future. Reconciliation was the leitmotif of the speeches at the ceremony and this was undoubtedly also the leitmotif of the majority of people who in Heroes Square or at the freshly carved wooden headboards in the cemetery spoke about the dead. After all the things he had lived through, Miklos Vasarhelyi's words expressed a human attitude worthy of our respect when he urged us to keep holding our hands together: "We can make use of the extraordinary and promising opportunities only by having mutual patience and indulgence between people who think and act differently, in the spirit of confidence placed in each other; only this way can we implement the historical tasks, and only this way can we guarantee a peaceful transition to a modern, free, and democratic European society." One can agree with this without any "ifs" or "buts."

The Lutheran priest quoted evangelical theses at General Pal Maleter's grave (whom he called a Communist who reminded one of the stubborn Huguenots) and said that love, justice, and freedom could not be implemented separately from each other. This is a truth conveyed to people of his own faith and people of different faith alike, because love means empathy and holding hands above the graves for future generations; justice means the capacity to understand painful events that are never black or white and which always take place under determined conditions; and for us, freedom means the recognized historical necessity, in our case the fact that we will firmly advance on the road leading to the creation of a democratic and pluralist socialist constitutional state completely free of the shackles of Stalinism.

In these hours of remembrance, the Hungarian society is essentially ready for cooperation: We can, no doubt, draw this conclusion from the way the masses received the speeches in this Heroes Square that has seen so many historical events. Of course, it is also part of the truth and we should also mention the fact that there were also speeches in which many people were justified in finding discordant elements. Unfortunately, there were people who made use of this hallowed occasion to criticize the West for not boycotting Hungary's leaders. (As if we could have made this long road from the Stalinist past to 16 June in total isolation from the world at large....) There were people who made use of history to make generalizations that are deeply unjust toward socialism. Socialism is not Stalinism! This generalization is also sacrilegiously unjust to those people who were now laid to eternal rest in five coffins. All these people believed in Hungarian socialism and in the fact that it is possible to change the old system, and they clung to this belief to the very tragic end. Therefore, it is also historically absurd to put Imre Nagy and his associates on the banner of antinational anticommunism.

One could also hear foreign policy programs devoid of reality, diametrically opposed to the sober tone of Bela Kiraly and other speakers, although a funeral is hardly the most suitable stage for a program-giving mass rally. Let us add that it is alarming if the aforementioned program aims at upsetting our relations with Gorbachev's Soviet Union, which—as distinguished from the Soviet Union of 1956—is not the Soviet Union of "counterreformation." This is no longer Stalin's or Khrushchev's Soviet Union, and the Brezhnev doctrine is also deeply alien to the Soviet Union of 1989. The reform-Communists, and the followers of progress in Hungary are looking precisely at the Soviet Union with careful eyes, the country where the Hungarian reforms are supported wholeheartedly. Besides, totally irrespective of one's ideology, nobody in Hungary can afford the luxury of failing to look at the globe and consider the unquestionable realities of interdependence. (The balance of the political processes in Poland is also connected with the fact that the Solidarity men also understand this precisely.)

Considering the foreign analyses of our domestic events, we should carefully separate between those who are really concerned or are having reservations (they definitely have the right to this and we have to show understanding and tolerance toward them) and those who make use of the events in Hungary for unscrupulous and cheap propaganda exercise. As it also transpires from the above, we do have a lot to argue with some of these people, but we reject any attempt to call them or anyone else fascists. (We mean here the AGERPRES commentary: Such irrational accusations refer to people who make them, and not to us.)

We are facing difficult days ahead: While searching for the outlines of a more distant future with our eyes, we must solve the urgent every day problems facing the working people. The past will stay with us, just like a shadow, and one cannot escape from the past. The past is constantly increasing: The date of 16 June has now also

become part of our past, and we will remember this day as the day of national dignity; compared with this, everything that seems contradictory with the day's spirit pales. This day will probably go down in our history as the funeral day of Imre Nagy and his martyr associates, the day of historical justice. If we understand the past, which is impossible to change, and if we reconcile ourselves with the past and with each other, we will be able to jointly follow the routes of the difficult years ahead of us. Holding each others' hands.

***Editorial on Bloc Reaction to Nagy Funeral**
25000327 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial by Tibor Varkonyi: "Esau's Voice"]

[Text] If only briefly, the story of Esau's voice must be recalled, otherwise the generation that was deprived of the Bible will not understand the comparison to be made. Isaac had twin sons; the eager, rough, and violent Esau sold his birthright to his gentle brother Jacob for a pot of lentils. Having acquired Esau's birthright, Jacob, the kindly shepherd, extorted his aging, blind father's blessing by covering the smooth of his arm with kidskin. But the old man could not be fooled. His fine hearing distinguished the difference. He responded: "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." This wisdom has been recalled frequently in writing ever since, whenever kindly words must be distinguished from coarse action.

The ancient, benign fraud was not applied in this case in our immediate neighborhood, following that historic Friday in Hungary. Here the voice also belonged to Esau. While the world—including the Soviet press—tried to draw sober conclusions from those 10 hours on 16 June in Budapest, pondering and analyzing events and dissecting what was said, there was thunder in Bucharest, Prague, Berlin, and Tirana(!). Just the four names of the capitals together reveals a lot. It shows who finds common denominators with whom. Unqualified judgments, summary findings, damnation. The past is speaking in these evaluations.

We, on the other hand, cannot follow this example. Even if cheap shots would provide us a way to generalize, our self respect does not permit us to do so. We must find out what impulse—and more importantly, what motive—elicited the extreme adjectives from each of these capitals. Such historial research is relative simple in Romania's case. We could smile over being cursed as "fascists, chauvinists, and revanchists," were it not for the bloody reality that is behind the curse. And at this time we should not limit our response by making reference only to the situation of Hungarians in Transylvania, a reference that would once again whip up nationalist passions. Let's talk in general terms instead. The Stalinist, nepotist dictatorship assaults the whole population of Romania. In quantitative terms the majority of these people are Romanians, of course, and thus it is understandable that those holding power in Romania are panic-stricken by any intention to democratize even though the attempts are still experimental. For a long time now, the conflict did not have a national or nationality nature, but instead refelcted the irreconcilable conflict ot two perceptions concerning socialism. This truth has become commonplace by now, it is not worth our while to waste words on this issue.

But how about Czechoslovakia or, more accurately, Jan Fojtik's Friday evening speech at Eperjes? If the telex machine had feelings it would have held its breath when Fojtik's words were typed. We too could be justly called sectarians and dogmatists, had we not noticed that reform policies are spreading among our Northen neighbors too—slowly, cautiously, with dosages measured on the pharmacist's scale. These reforms take a different form than her at home, but this is the Czechs' own internal affair. Just as the servile copying of external forces caused damage to us, these neighbors will not benefit from such bitter experience either. It is precisely for this reason that we have neither the right nor the intent to provide them a lesson in development and progress. Let the future tell who will be more successful.

But what is due them is also due us. During the more than one year since last May our events have accelerated, reflecting also our recent past. Emotion-filled reassessments come later—today it is our duty to clearly express things we could not even utter yesterday. Moreover, we can even understand that those who have become used to the immutability of the word once spoken, the unchanged nature of extreme assessments—an attitude that is far from wise in politics—have difficulty in following new trends. Their souls are committed, even when such matters are for internal use. Of course we understand that in a place where after 2 decades Alexander Dubcek is still condemned to silence, the humane, national farewell to Imre Nagy is unpleasant, in fact, uncomfortable. Even if in Fojtik place, we would not label those renewers of the system "counterrevolutionaries." Rather, we would proudly invoke their names: Dubcek at least is alive; a crime similar to the one commited here in Hungary need not be rectified in Czechoslovakia through any kind of majestic, noble, after-the-fact burial conducted in a pure and solemn spirit. But only Fojtik knows what kind of hidden fears and anxieties are lurking inside of him. A rehabilitation is never pleasant for those who happen to be in power, because admission must always accompany rehabilitation. And one sentence should suffice insofar as Berlin is concerned. The day after the Budapest burial marked the anniversary of the GDR's June 1953; judging by the reactions, Ulbricht can peacefully continue to dream his eternal dream.

We must address, however, the more general international lessons to be learned. The three decades whose comprehensive evaluation has just begun in Hungary provides a good opportunity to do so. When the 1968 reform experienced its initial halt, how many times did

our leaders of those days justify the slow-down by saying openly, or like accomplices winking at each other, that we must exercise caution, because the immediate international environment, our neighborhood, was unfriendly toward us? On occasion, in bulletins prepared for internal use they did not beat around the bush, they said it openly: Brezhnev's Soviet Union distrusted our experiments. And Romania registered protest even against our TV advertisements promoting milk consumption, although for quite some time people in Romania could not find even the trace of butter, sour cream, or cottage cheese. At the same time, the GDR and Czechoslovakia were constantly complaining about us in Moscow. Let's be more modest, they said; let's be more like they are, because in the end we will be left to ourselves, and that would permanently freeze even the reform measures still under consideration. We abided by the admonition, and what happened? We were pushed into an even deeper crisis.

It is easy to talk now, of course, when the immediate international milieu is much, much more favorable. In Moscow Gorbachev is waging a tooth-and-nail battle for perestroyka and glasnost. In Poland, although their perceptions of reform different from ours, they are somewhat ahead of us as far as pluralism is concerned. For this reason—and our neighbors should forgive us for that—our thinking concerns mostly ourselves, although it would be no exaggeration to say that we are concerned about all of us. We are shaping our own history, even if we must pay attention to what others have to say. We do not want to "contaminate" anyone with our ideals and practice. But we too have had enough of the epidemic. We have had enough of it, particularly since we have discovered its antidote.

* MDF-Romanian Emigre Declaration on Nagy

25000328 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Jun 89 p 6

[Text] Today, 16 June 1989, when Hungary mourns the victims of the reprisals that followed the 1956 Hungarian Revolution—an event of great significance, bearing also great importance for all European nations, mostly those who are still living under communist dictatorships—a meeting took place between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and members of the democratic-minded Romanian emigration residing in the West. The participants at the meeting agreed to publicly issue the following declaration:

"We Hungarians and Romanians believe that the freedom and progress of our nations can be ensured only within a pluralistic political framework that fully respects fundamental human rights. Hungarian and Romanian democratic forces must take joint action to achieve this goal. Communist systems and, above all, Ceausescu's dictatorial policies have created an acute crisis situation that hinders communications between Hungarians and Romanians.

"The dialogue begun today has as its main goal the elimination of these barriers. It is now that we must lay the foundations for normal relations between the two nations in the same geographic region.

"Because of the peculiar character of Transylvania's ethnic map, the resolution of conflicts cannot be achieved by redrawing the borders, but only by changing the role of borders. A changed role would enable the free flow of persons, information, and ideals in the Helsinki spirit. Consequently, we expect an improvement in Hungarian-Romanian relations to come about as a result of a general European democratic reorganization. Only with this kind of reorganization will we be able to resolve the problems that have accumulated in the course of history among the nations of the continent and, at the same time, protect the interests of all nations.

"Transylvania has been and continues to be a land of complementary cultures. Therefore, it must become the model for cultural and religious pluralism. It is in the interest of our nations that a diversity of cultures, religions, and traditions remain in Transylvania. This has been a characteristic peculiar to Transylvania all along. Every nation's right to autonomous political representation and culture must be ensured. The realization of these goals demands that Hungarian-language education be organized at all levels, and that the Hungarian university at Kolozsvar [Cluj-Napoca] be restored.

"We hold the above declared fundamental principles to be our guidelines in all future joint actions.

"We call upon democratic organizations and those persons who concur with the above fundamental principles to join us in our declaration."

Budapest, 16 June 1989

Laszlo G. Antal
Julia Balogh
Gaspar Biro
Sandor Csoori
Lajos Fur
Maria Illyes
Geza Jeszenszky
Gyula Keszthelyi
Gyula Modolanyi
Gusztav Molnar

Stelian Hajanescu, on behalf of the Romanian Democratic Circle in the FRG
Mihosa Berindei, Vice President, Romanian Human Rights League (EJLR)
Ariadna Combres, Vice President, EJRL
Mihai Korne, President, the newspaper LUPTA
Ion Vianu, EJRL representative in Switzerland
Dinu Zamfirescu, member, the EJRL bureau, member, National Liberal Party

(We received the request to publish the declaration yesterday. The Editor.)

Experts Urge Caution in Reforming Economy

AU2106144689 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 Jun 89 p 29

["cvm" report: "Hungary's Cautious Way Toward Market Economy"]

[Text] Budapest—At a German-Hungarian meeting of the Hanns-Seidel Foundation in Budapest on questions of economic relations, far-reaching agreement came to light on the necessary measures, but also differing ideas about the right speed of economic reforms in Hungary. German participants propagated a speedy switch to a pure market-economy mechanism, following the motto "There is no such thing as being a bit pregnant." Hungarian experts, on the other hand, focused on the risks of a quick change and advocated cautious reforms to be carried out step by step. They hope for Western stimuli in the form of investments, cooperation, and management methods, which accelerate an "organic development" and increase the pressure on the Hungarian economy to adjust to world market standards.

Bela Kadar, director of the Planned Economy Institute, noted that achieving the technological standards of the world market and a "reorientation of foreign trade" are the most important goals. The challenge of Western markets is decisive for the modernization of the Hungarian economy. Of course, the readiness to accept Hungarian goods must also be increased.

Hungary has already tackled important legislative measures and even concluded some of them, Szabolcs Fazaks of the Budapest Trade Ministry and Gerhard Fuernrohr, delegate of the Bayerische Vereinsbank, Munich, stressed in Budapest. Concerning joint ventures, the majority participation of foreign companies, annual transfer of profits in hard currencies, and deinvestment [deinvestition] in foreign currency are possible. An investment protection agreement offers additional legal safety. The conversion law, which is expected shortly, permits the conversion of state-owned enterprises into corporations. Private ownership of shares is permitted. The state's foreign trade monopoly, which no longer exists in practice, will not be mentioned in the new trade law, the companies are permitted to engage in unlimited activities.

With 240 joint ventures, including 60 with FRG participation, Hungary assumes top rank in Eastern Europe. A look at the amounts of German capital, which Imre Juhasz of the Budapest Trade Ministry estimated at $60 million, suggests, however, a certain caution by German investors, Fuernrohr and Werner Gumpel, professor at the Munich University Institute for Eastern and Southern European Economics and Society, noted. Obviously they do not believe that the "point of no return" [term given in English] has already been reached and are waiting for the first pluralistic parliamentary elections, for instance, which have to take place in June 1990 at the latest. By the way, joint ventures are no panacea. Ten smaller joint ventures cannot make as much profit within 1 year as a large state-owned enterprises loses in 1 day.

German participants in the discussion repeatedly called for a speedy reform policy, in particular for the speedy introduction of the convertibility of the forint. This will favor the solution of economic problems and also more intensive cooperation with the West. Hungarian participants stressed, on the other hand, that the Hungarian economy and society is incapable of carrying out a sudden switch toward market economy methods. One should "get pregnant only slowly." Western partners could strongly increase the ability to carry out reforms; the restraint of Western companies, however, hinders modernization. At the fringe of the conference, it was repeatedly said that Hungary cannot solve its economic problems with its own resources. Hungary depends on cooperation with Western companies in order to participate in using their management and marketing methods.

In particular, the obvious advantages of the traditional cooperation with the Soviet Union have proved detrimental in the long run, said Margit Racz of the World Economics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Laszlo Abraham, technical director of the Videoton television and computer company. The Soviet Union is not a demanding partner and has also accepted low-quality and technically obsolete goods. Because it is possible to work with high profit margins in business with the USSR, it is at first not very attractive for Hungarian companies to switch from trade with the East to trade with the West and to modernize structures, which requires investments and lay-offs and also raises the risk of collapse.

An all too consistent policy of convertibility might lead to the inability to fulfill the "justified economic interests of the population" and might cause social tensions. One also has to give "the former power elite a chance of survival," Kadar told someone who had quoted from an interview with Hungarian State Minister Pozsgay: Pozsgay, it was said, cannot exclude that the members of the old nomenklatura might defend their privileges with weapons.

Time Bomb Debts

Jeno Hamori, of the Planned Economy Institute sees an increasing danger in the development of debts. At present, Hungary's debts amount to $17 billion: at present it is just possible to pay for the servicing of debts, which amounts to $1.5 billion. However, an exponential increase can be predicted for within a few years, so that the debts at the end of the 1990's might amount to $35 billion. If Hungary is not to follow Romania's path, this scenario can be avoided only through Western investments in Hungary.

Boom in Joint Ventures With West Reported

AU2106100089 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21 Jun 89 p 10

["ho" report: "Boom in Joint Ventures in Hungary; Increasingly Closer Contacts With Western Europe"]

[Text] Vienna—Western interest in the founding of joint ventures in Hungary is increasing: While at the end of 1988 a total of 288 of such ventures were registered, during the first 5 months of 1989 alone another 385 joint ventures were established. However, with $320 million (end of 1988), the sum invested by Western partners is still small.

With 77 joint ventures, Austria is the second most important investor after the FRG (90). Austria's share in the invested sum is 21.1 percent, Ferenc Salamon, director of Investcenter (investment advisory office of the Hungarian Trade Ministry), said at a news conference in Vienna. These joint ventures mostly involve small and medium-sized enterprises.

The positive effect of joint ventures on the Hungarian economy is demonstrated by the fact that their productivity is three times higher than the Hungarian average, and wages are twice as high. Last year a basic agreement on the establishment of two joint ventures was concluded with South Korea; the agreement has not yet been signed, however: The South Korean Daewoo Company wants to establish a trading company with a basic capital of $100 million as well as a hotel group with a capital stock of $90 million. During U.S. President Bush's forthcoming visit to Hungary a joint venture on a Ford factory might be agreed upon.

Salamon said that the sale of a bit more than 49 percent of the Hungarian Tungsram company to the Austrian Girozentrale Bank was an exception. He also detailed the offer made last year by Hungarian Trade Minister Beck to German investors to buy 50 Hungarian industrial companies. This list was reduced to 35 after talks by Investcenter with the affected companies. A partial or complete sale of these companies to the West is now no longer being discussed, even though it would be still conceivable. Salamon stressed that it is now intended to establish joint ventures. Furthermore, Investcenter, which is trying to bring together investors, has 100 interested parties that want to establish joint ventures with the Vest.

Opening the door to the West is aimed at enabling Hungary to prove that it is a part of Europe. It is intended to intensify market orientation and to improve management. "We belong more to Western than to Eastern Europe," Salamon said. The country has traditionally good contacts with the German-speaking area, he noted.

Opinion Poll on Multiparty System Published

AU2206151889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Jun 89 p 6

[Article by Tibor Zavecz: "Survey of the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute—Multiparty System With and Without a Party Law"]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute carried out a survey among 300 Budapest, 100 Gyor, and 100 Pecs inhabitants, as well as 200 inhabitants of villages around Debrecen between 28 April and 2 May 1989. The city inhabitants are represented according to sex, age, and educational level, and the village inhabitants are represented according to age and sex. [passage omitted]

At present, 80 percent of Budapest inhabitants think it is necessary to also have other parties, in addition to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Some 17 percent oppose this. (No opinions came from 7 percent.) The inhabitants of the two other cities had similar opinions. (Necessary: 79 percent; unnecessary: 13 percent; and uncertain: 8 percent.) Most of the village inhabitants (63 percent) are also in favor of a multiparty system, but here there are more people who oppose it (27 percent), and 10 percent are uncertain. The supporters of party pluralism are made up mainly of young people and people with a higher education. [passage omitted]

What do you think, will the MSZMP preserve or lose its leading role when other parties will also function along the MSZMP?

(answers in percentage according to locations)

	Budapest	Two Provincial Towns	Villages
Will preserve	35	35	45
Will lose	47	46	40
Does not know	18	19	15

[passage omitted]

To the question of what would be better for the country, if the MSZMP preserved or lost its leading role, the minority in the cities (33 percent in Budapest, and 31 percent in the two provincial towns), and the majority in the villages (56 percent) chose the first possibility, namely that it would be better for the country if the MSZMP preserved its leading role. [passage omitted]

There is greater agreement on the need for the MSZMP to distribute some of its current assets among the other parties. Some 61 percent and 63 percent respectively support this idea in the cities, as well as 48 percent of the village population. [passage omitted]

Membership fees represent a secure source of income for the parties, but obviously they also need various extra funds. According to three-quarters of the people surveyed, the parties should manage only from their own income and should not receive state support. [passage omitted]

Border Guard Commander on Crossing Violations

LD2206212189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] Hardly 2 months ago, we began to dismantle the fence on the western border. Katalin Vrannai asked Major-General Janos Szekely, national commander of the Border Guard, about this.

[Begin recording] [Vrannai] Is it true that since the dismantling of the border alarm system in Austria, more people have tried to cross illegally?

[Szekely] We have dismantled a 40-km stretch by cutting at roughly six places. In this area, the number of border violation attempts has not increased compared to earlier. However, since 1 January, it has more than doubled compared to the same period last year. Primarily, they are people who have come from Romania and who have settlement permits, and citizens of the GDR.

[Vrannai] In what manner do they attempt this, since it would be logical for them to try to cross over where there is no fence?

[Szekely] They try this there, as well, but on the other hand, by cutting through the existing fence, by climbing over it, by digging under it, (?they have used) good methods for border violation attempts; by these they attempt border violations.

[Vrannai] How do you catch them? I suppose, let us say, that you do not shoot at them.

[Szekely] We do not shoot at border violators. In our country we have regulated the use of weapons so that we shoot only if a patrol is attacked. Of course, we fire warning shots, if they run away from us in spite of warnings, but we do not shoot people.

[Vrannai] Then what happens if they see that someone is trying to cross over?

[Szekely] They order him to stop, and in the great majority of cases, he stops. Then, we catch him, we give him a hearing, and hand him over to the police.

[Vrannai] How many more people are crossing than last year?

[Szekely] In the past year, some 200 people tried to do so, until mid-June; this year, there have been nearly 700 people. Of these, last year 15 people, and now 40 people have managed to get over. [end recording]

Commercial Television Station To Air 1 July

LD2206104489 Budapest MTI in English 0842 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 22, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Encouraged by the success of the Hungarian commercial radio broadcasts, the first commercial television station called Balaton Channel fs to start operation on July 1.

The novel venture has been called into being by Siotelevision which is run by the town council of Siofok, and a private company called Filmpremier small cooperative of Budapest. The studio at Siofok has been equipped at a cost of 20 million forints, yet at least 100 million forints would be needed for regular operation.

The bilingual—Hungarian and German—broadcasts cover Siofok and area (Balatonszeplak, Zamardi) and most of Somogy County to the east. Daily broadcasts start with prayer in Latin, followed by children's programmes, mainly cartoons, in the morning. In the late afternoon there are feature films, video clips, and touristical and other topical information throughout the day.

Since it is a commercial TV station, foreign ads and commercials take up a considerable amount of broadcasting time. A minute's advertising time on Balaton channel costs between 7,000 and 11,000 forints (USD 117 to 183).

Students Demonstrate for Fighting Solidarity

LD2206165889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] An illegal demonstration organized by Fighting Solidarity took place in Poznan today. A group of about 200 young people shouting "Down with the commune" and "Soviets go home" marched through the main streets of the city (?to) the voivodship party building. After a rally lasting a dozen or so minutes the demonstrators dispersed and the police did not intervene.

More on Demonstrations

LD2206201789 Warsaw PAP in English 1857 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—The Executive Committee of the "Fighting Solidarity" (Solidarnosc Walczaca) staged an illegal demonstration in the centre of Wroclaw this afternoon. Organizers said they are protesting against Wojciech Jaruzelski and demand free elections in Poland.

The demonstration was attracted less than 1,000 people, chiefly students and school youth. The gathering chanted antistate slogans. Among those who addressed the rally was Jozef Pinior, leader of the Lower Silesian Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution PPS-RD.

In Poznan, a group of about 100 young people gathered this afternoon under the banner of "Fighting Solidarity". Representatives of this illegal organization chanted abuses directed at Wojciech Jaruzelski and anti-Soviet slogans.

A similar demonstration was organized by "Fighting Solidarity" and by activists of other illegal groupings in the centre of Katowice. An illegal demonstration was also staged at the momument to King Jan III Sobieski in Gdansk by activists from Fighting Solidarity, the Fighting Youth Federation, the Polish Independence Party, the Confederation For an Independent Poland (KPN), the Alternative Society Movement and the Opposition'88.

Andrzej Gwiazda addressed the meeting to routinely charge the roundtable that it had reached an agreement outside society.

The demonstration was staged by several dozen persons.

Reykowski Interviewed On Outcome of Election

AU2206123389 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Jun 89 pp 1, 13

[Interview with Professor Janusz Reykowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party, by Marian Turski: "What Will Happen After 18 June"—place, date not given]

[Text] [Turski] I suggest that we do not talk about the second round of the elections which await us next week, but about the future after 18 June, specifically the composition of forces which has become apparent even after the first round. May I first be permitted to formulate a certain paradox. Various commentaries of the events in Poland have already begun to circulate. The most pessimistic prognosis foretold that which actually occurred: an overwhelming, crushing victory for the opposition. Do you not think that this most pessimistic scenario could paradoxically turn out to be a blessing in disguise? If I could be allowed to elaborate. Let us assume for this purpose that the following more favorable scenario occurs; the opposition achieves a moderate success and the present balance of power is thus preserved. What would this mean? Do you not agree that in such an event the opposition in the Sejm and Senate would be rather reluctant to lend its support to the reformist measures undertaken by the government, measures which would be unpopular with society? This would be understandable, for the opposition would not feel itself adequately supported by society, and feeling itself threatened by more radical and demagogic elements, would not wish to shoulder responsibility for the reforms in Poland. It would be afraid that its competitors from the extreme wing might gain in popularity. To sum up, we would continue to vegetate in our present situation, a situation which had stabilized, but one which called for great courage and effort.

But an opposition that has the approval of society, a credible opposition, must realize that it has to assume responsibility for supporting, and endorsing (if not actually heading) the process and the implementation of reform. Of course, this depends on whether it wants to, if it accepts that there is no other evolutionary road leading to a change of system in Poland. It is in this assumption that I see a great chance for Poland, do you not agree?

[Reykowski] I belonged to that group of people who, when considering the future outcome of the elections, the desirable as well as undesirable scenarios, believed that the most desirable variant would be the one which preserved a balance, and an undesirable variant where one of the parties achieved a clear preponderance. You would now try to convince me that one can draw certain benefits from an undesirable result. I do not think we can draw much solace from this. I consider the present outcome to be a very dangerous one. I am not questioning your conviction that one can draw advantages from every set-back, and if one is clever, can turn that state of affairs to one's advantage. Such a possibility does exist and I believe in this....

[Turski] I beg your pardon, as concerns my own views this is not a question of belief, but one of pure calculation. Experience teaches us that only a person like Nixon could take the risk of traveling to Beijing and reestablishing diplomatic relations with China. Only a Reagan could enter into an agreement with Gorbachev. These things could not have been done by politicians whose credibility was in doubt....

[Reykowski] Are you saying that the "Solidarity" leadership having now secured such credibility, will feel itself capable of participating in the so-called policy of the "roundtable", and having received a mandate from the electorate, will seize the opportunity and begin to implement this policy?

[Turski] Of course, on the condition that this leadership does not get carried away with its success and begin to have illusions as to the realities which prevail in Poland in 1989.

[Reykowski] This is the very point. Let us consider the dangers of such a turn of events. You have mentioned the first one of these. "Solidarity's" leadership feels itself strengthened by the results of the elections, but at the same time, and this is the lesson we learn from all countries, it succumbs to the euphoria of victory, which clouds and limits its perception of the current Polish realities, the real state of the forces in Poland. For if we consider this coldly, force is not just mere numbers, it is also (and above all) structure, institutional order, and the state of current thinking. Euphoria is a bad counselor. I do not mean that our "roundtable" partners could completely lose their heads, but they could come under pressure, which could hamper their movements and limit their freedom of action. This danger is not to be ignored. But I would ask you to consider another danger. The feeling of despondency after a defeat can also be a bad counselor. Frustration, depression, and anger often lead to the taking of desperate ill-considered measures, which may be motivated by the desire to find immediate solutions. The combination of these two types of emotion, euphoria on the one side, and desperation on the other could lead to confrontation. We must not underestimate the danger to Poland that this could pose.

But let us assume that this confrontational situation does not arise. The lack of balance will still persist. This imbalance may be the cause of numerous problems and conflicts, and signals emanating from this imbalance will be interpreted accordingly by the rest of the world, by our close and not so close neighbors. These signals may warn, but at the same time may threaten, and could delay the work of transformation. The list of dangers is endless. If I may be permitted to use the metaphor; Poland today is like a newly born, weak infant, a baby that is prone to all sorts of infections, chills, drafts, and violent changes in temperature, and so on and so forth.

[Turski] Professor, I would nevertheless like to develop the paradox that I formulated at the beginning. Why did the state and party leadership come out with the initiative of holding discussion with the opposition, and why did the 10th plenum accept, amid dramatic scenes, a self-limitation of the party's prerogatives, and acquiesce in accepting the existence of the opposition as a permanent element of the state structure? This surely happened because on the one hand, we realized that the existence of an opposition was a factor which would control and counteract the arrogance of the authorities, abuses, and the cyclical crises, and on the other hand, by recognizing "Solidarity" we hoped that this organization would exert an influence on particular social circles, overcome their prejudices, and gain their support for the cause of reform. If this is correct, what use would a weak partner be? If the elections had shown "Solidarity" to be a weakling, what would the compromises and the concessions made by the authorities at the "roundtable have served for? A weak and rickety partner would only have been a liability.

[Reykowski] I fully agree. Forming a partnership with a weak opposition would have been pointless. If the opposition had not received backing from the electorate it would have meant that the policies of the "roundtable" had been rejected. The weakness of the opposition would have been counterproductive to the process of reconstruction and reform, and for this reason I stress that this would have been an undesirable scenario.

But, let us look once more at the results of the elections. They show us that the party lost, but they also show that party candidates secured millions of votes, for example, candidates on the national list obtained about 8 million votes. Even though "Solidarity's" victory is an undeniable fact, we should not forget that the necessity of preserving a balance also stems from the very fact that society itself is clearly divided. The need for concerted action is evident from the votes cast. The figures speak for themselves.

[Turski] Do you not think that from one angle in particular, the party really did not come up to expectations? Namely, it did not manifest a will to win; it did not dare to try. It did not mobilize itself sufficiently (or, it was not sufficiently mobilized) in, for example, organizing collections of signatures for its candidates, or funds for its election campaign. Joint action, is after all the fundamental element which binds a member of a particular group with that group.

[Reykowski] I would be very wary at present of pointing a finger at anyone. Often after a defeat soldiers accuse the officers of bad leadership, and the officers in turn accuse the soldiers of having fought badly. I fear that these mutual recriminations would only plunge us into a spiral of self-condemnation, and this would distract people from thinking about the future. Instead of looking for scapegoats, we should be concentrating on the key issue of what is to happen after 18 June. I think that the next plenum has to consider bringing the next congress forward in time, and during the runup to that congress we must try to define the new shape of the party. Everybody now realizes that it will be a completely different party to what it has been in the past.

[Turski] In these new conditions of competitiveness, should it not be a leaner, more elitist party?

[Reykowski] From my observations of the French socialist party, one only needs several hundred thousand dedicated activists in order to function effectively. One thing is certain, a weak party in Poland will be a destabilizing element, which will ultimately lead to the decomposition of the political system.

[Turski] Professor you are one of the advocates of the process of reform, one of the creators of the "roundtable." After the first round election defeat have other party members not accused you and the other reformers of capitulation?

[Reykowski] Yes, I have heard such accusations, and I would have been surprised if there had not been any such rumblings. Desperation, anger, and disappointment are at the root of such outbursts.

[Turski] Have you with hindsight no regrets of conscience, no second thoughts, that perhaps the "roundtable" may have given away too much, and too soon?

[Reykowski] Absolutely not! First: There is no other alternative road for Poland, except that of compromise. The accumulation of resentment in Poland would inexorably have led to a confrontation. The fact that Polish socioeconomic conflicts in the spring of 1989 did not transform themselves into political protests, must be attributed to the "roundtable", which channeled them into a new framework, and ensured that such conflicts would no longer be resolved on the streets but in parliament. The alternative to this would have led directly to a national tragedy. Second: The "roundtable" discussions took into account the possibility of an unfavorable, as well as a favorable outcome of the elections. Both sides accepted that the internal stability, so crucial for internal and international considerations, could only be maintained by letting the coalition remain dominant, and because of this, the two sides agreed to divide the seats in the Sejm in the appropriate proportions and, despite some differences of opinion, to create the office of a president in order to guarantee continuity and unity of the state. To sum up, the policies of the 10th plenum, and the discussions and accords of the "roundtable", were unavoidable for Poland. The fundamental concept was to preserve a balance at all costs, even though certain deviations from this balance might occur.

[Turski] You have now been in direct contact with the "Solidarity" leadership for the last few months. Do you believe that its leadership will be able to resist the pressure from its rank and file should it ever become necessary?

[Reykowski] It would be tactless of me to give my opinion of my colleagues, or partners from the other side of the fence. Nevertheless, your question brings certain thoughts to mind. It is an obvious fact that the accords of the "roundtable" were only concluded owing to the fact that the leaders on both sides made a mature assessment of the reality of the Polish situation. The next question is, will those leaders prove capable of containing the dangerous moods of society? This does not always depend on the good intentions of the leaders. It depends among other things, on whether they have sufficient authority and organization. As concerns authority, many things indicate that the "Solidarity" leaders have an abundance of it. However, organization is also important. It is quite a different thing to confront a loose collection of people who are formulating particular wishes, and quite another when one is faced by an organized structure. Organized movements are more easily influenced by their leaders, whereas unorganized movements are more prone to succumb to transient and spontaneous feelings.

A lot also depends on the wisdom and the will of the elite, and on the determination manifested by this elite in selecting and pursuing a particular policy. A lot also depends on what I would call the "philosophy of politics." In my opinion, many "Solidarity" leaders in the period 1980-81 had the wrong philosophy, namely, they assumed that their duty was to be a mere sounding board of society; to voice society's demands. To be a leader is surely more than this, more than just echoing the will of society. It also means shaping this collective will. Society, in my opinion expects this duality of roles from its leaders. The modern leader is not like the noble Sejm deputy of the past, whose freedom of action was restricted by the limitations imposed on him by the mandate of his local Diet. A leader is a person who points out the road to his supporters. It is a person who, thanks to his ability and position in the organizational structure, is in a better position than the rank and file to see and appreciate the wider implications of things. It is a dangerous sign when, in the name of his specific philosophy, a leader allows himself to be swept along by the current. You never know where that current will carry you. I am inclined to believe that the present leaders of the opposition, see their role in the positive terms that I have outlined and agree with my interpretation, which I believe to be correct.

Walesa Chairs Solidarity Civil Committee Session

LD2206204889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Lech Walesa chaired the first meeting of the Solidarity Citizens Committee after the elections:

[Reporter] The assembled were presented with a report on the election campaign. The first issue discussed was the future of regional and local civic committees. Judging from the opposition press, this is the most burning problem at the moment. In the speeches, attention was drawn to the fact that the dissolution of voivodship citizens committees, appointed for the period of the elections, may squander what they have achieved so far. The future of the citizens' movement in favor of reforms and the future of civic initiatives were also discussed:

[Begin Janusz Onyszkiecicz recording] Above all, it was decided that this capital comprising people, energy and initiative should not, of course, be squandered. We must organize ourselves for elections to territorial self-government. We must construct programs and, in relation to this, we must simply adapt those structures which have emerged during the existence of the electoral committees to these tasks. All this must be done in agreement with committees from Rural Solidarity, Workers' Solidarity, but the committees, in some form, will continue to exist. But the main task is to organize Solidarity, Workers' Solidarity, Solidarity of Private Farmers. These unions must be strengthened, they must be expanded, because they are the guarantor of the process of democratic transformations in Poland. [end recording]

Miodowicz Notes Election 'Not a Final Failure'

LD2206143589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] The OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord] Executive Committee is assessing the results of the elections to the Sejm and Senate. The final number of activists of this organization who will be sitting in the new parliament is 11. It was stated that the OPZZ was not successful in the elections, being one of the members of the coalition.

Alfred Miodowicz said that this is not a final failure yet. He announced that both he himself and the OPZZ leadership will put themselves to the vote at the next meeting of the OPZZ Council. If the result is negative he will resign.

The cooperation with the PZPR during the election campaign is being critically assessed. Alfred Miodowicz has announced that consultations will start tomorrow to provide an answer to the question of how the OPZZ should reorganize itself.

OPZZ Executive Committee Views Role in Sejm

LD2206212589 Warsaw PAP in English
1945 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) met here today to assess the participation of union organizations affiliated to the OPZZ in elections to the Sejm and the Senate.

The OPZZ will be represented in the Sejm of the 10th term by 11 deputies who will fill 11 seats allocated to the PUWP and one seat to the Democratic Party.

Also, among coalition deputies there are many OPZZ members and persons recommended by factory unions. Thus, it is fully feasible to maintain the union parliamenrary group large enough to have legislative initiative.

The committee passed a statement which read, in part: "trade unions affiliated to the OPZZ, not being a political party, do not treat results of the elections in terms of victory or defeat.

"We shall support every government and all forces which will undertake activities serving the working people and we will oppose all those who will act against the interests of the working people."

Peasant Party Leaders Discuss Election Results

LD2206090289 Warsaw PAP in English
2153 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—The United Peasants Party [UPP] pins hopes on the new Sejm and Senate to improve political and economic situation in the country, stated UPP Central Committee Secretary Bogdan Krolewski at a press conference for Polish and foreign newsmen held here today.

The results of the elections have changed the political scene in Poland, Krolewski said. Formation of a great coalition is presently the only chance to achieve their objectives both by the ruling coalition and by "Solidarity".

The alignment of forces that has been formed in the parliament indicates that none of the sides can rule by itself, the UPP Central Committee secretary elaborated. The present situation of the state and economy requires formation of a national coalition. In future the UPP should aim at making alliances with those forces that would promise the best realization of the party's programme.

Asked whether in future the UPP may vote against the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], Bogdan Krolewski stated that such a situation may come about, and the Peasants Party may go into alliances with other political forces while maintaining its independence and identity.

Krolewski also said his party is going to offer the candidacy of Mikolaj Kozakiewicz as Sejm speaker with the 10th Sejm.

UPP Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Sliwinski presented the UPP's stand on introducing market mechanisms into food economy. He said that the government is to present shortly a report on the state of food economy and variants for making it market-oriented.

Asked about the date and level of price hikes on food, Sliwinski stated that in his opinion the date of July 1 cannot be taken into consideration and nobody is going to decide about the maximum growth of prices.

Christian Social Union Board Discusses Elections

LD2206194189 Warsaw PAP in English
1815 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—The Presidium of the National Board of the Christian-Social Union (UCHS) debated here to size up results of parliamentary elections.

The Presidium re-affirmed the UCHS readiness for sovereign and partner-like cooperation both within the government coalition and in the forum of broad parliamentary coalition with the participation of the oppostion.

Besides, UCHS authorities met newly elected deputies to the Sejm of the 10th term of office representing the union. Both sides received with satisfaction the fact that members of the Catholic, evangelic and orthodox churches were among the UCHS deputies.

Rakowski Visits International Cooperation Center

LD2106230789 Warsaw PAP in English
1556 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Kielce, June 21—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski today visited Poland's first centre of international cooperation "Exbud", now under construction in the central Polish town of Kielce.

"This construction site and this enterprise are classic examples that one can achieve magnificant results," Rakowski told PAP while touring the construction site.

"This shows that a socialized enterprise may work in our country, dynamically develop and make good profits. I also was pleased to hear that my government creates proper conditions for initiatives," Rakowski added.

The "Exbud" centre of international cooperation in Kielce includes six buildings, the largest of them a 14 story-building with space for 600 offices.

A 400-seat congress and auction hall, exhibition halls and a chain of stores and services will be situated in separate pavilions.

Travelling businessmen will have a hotel, health club, restuarants, coffee shops, drink-bars, banquet halls and a large parking lot with a "rent-a-car" bureau.

The centre will be furnished with a most up-to-date communications system, its own computer network and satellite television. Furthermore, there will be branches of the "Exbud" commercial bank and travel agencies, including "Orbis", and of the Polish airlines "Lot".

According to director of the "Exbud" centre Adam Rozwadowski, the monthly rent for office space and hotel accomodation and lodging for one person will range between 4.8 and 6.5 thousand dollars.

Government, Rural Solidarity Officials Meet

LD2206221489 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Representatives of the government with member of the Council of Ministers Jozef Oleksy met today with a delegation of Rural Solidarity, headed by vice-chairman Piotr Baumgart.

The sides discussed farmers' payments of their total financial commitments including farming tax and insurance rates to be paid respectively to the ZUS (Social Insurance Company) and the PZU (State Insurance Company), the relation between prices for production means and procurement prices and the prices of procurement offered by the Pek-Pol company.

They did not reach a full agreement. The government side acknowledged the social need to delay till the end of July payments of the first and second installment of ZUS and PZU rates with the reservation that this decision may make the financial situation of the two institutions difficult.

As concerns the remaining problems, the sides agreed that the talks should continue.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Ministries of Labour and Social Policy, Finances, Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy and Industry as well as of the PZU, the ZUS and "Pek-Pol."

Onyszkiewicz on Citizens' Committee Meeting

LD2206224289 Warsaw PAP in English
2054 GMT 22 Jun 89

[By Jan Rozdzynski and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—The Citizens' Committee expresses a conviction that it owes its electoral victory to society's attachment to the idea of "Solidarity", Janusz Onyszkiewicz told a press conference here today quoting texts of two resolutions passed by the Citizens' Committee earlier today at a meeting attended by Lech Walesa.

Alongside thanks for local citizens' committees and for "Solidarity" members the first from the resolutions points to the tasks connected with future elections to local self-governments, organizing the legal base for "Solidarity" deputies and senators, supporting local public initiatives and the operation of the intervention system.

Commenting on the resolution, Onyszkiewicz stressed that the committee discussed the future of the movement (that is, of the local citizens' committees) founded for the elections. The issue of transforming local committees should be approached in a flexible way, they should adjust themselves to new conditions, to cooperation with

"Solidarity" committees and with "Solidarity" of private farmers. The Citizens' Committee considers these two unions as warrants of the process of democratization in Poland, Onyszkiewicz added.

The second resolution appoints a several-person-strong commission to reorganize the Citizens' Committee itself. The commission is to work out proposals and present them to Lech Walesa and the committee by September 10.

Onyszkiewicz presented also Lech Walesa's appeal concerning the situation in China. The appeal, adopted by the entire Citizens' Committee, calls on all governments and parliaments of democratic countries and on Nobel peace prize winners to "not only condemn the Chinese authorities but also undertake struggle to free students' democratic activists imprisoned in China and stop executions there."

Commenting on the speculations on possibilities for transforming "Solidarity" into a political party, Onyszkiewicz stated that if one party, a kind of a mirror reflection of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] were to emerge, it would be dangerous. But if a greater number of parties were formed within "Solidarity", such a danger would be avoided.

Asked whether elections to local self-government should be held ahead of schedule, Onyszkiewicz said: "We do want them to be speeded up as formally they are to be held in three years. It is one of our most important postulates."

Janusz Onyszkiewicz announced that a meeting of the Citizens' Committee with "Solidarity" deputies and senators scheduled for Friday, June 23 is to consider, among other things, the formation of the "Solidarity" floor group and candidates for the Senate marshal (president).

Olechowski Meets UN Refugee High Commissioner

LD2206194289 Warsaw PAP in English
1736 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski received here today United Nations High Commissioner for refugees Jean-Pierre Hocke, in Poland in connection with an international seminar on humanitarian law.

The minister conveyed to the high commissioner words of recognition for his efforts aimed to extend assistance to refugees and for searching, on international scale, lasting solutions to their problems. At the same time, the minister stressed Poland's engagement in the development and enrichment of international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere.

The two also discussed issues related to further cooperation with the high commissioner's office, including the possibility of Poland's joining the 1951 U.N. convention on refugee status.

Democratic Youth Union Ends Founding Assembly

LD2206092389 Warsaw PAP in English
2035 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—Two-day debates of a founding assembly of the Democratic Youth Union UMD, independent youth organization affiliated ideologically to the Democratic Party, ended here today. The Union was registered on April 5. Today's meeting elected Piotr Gorski chairman of the Union's National Convention.

The Union does not represent interests of all youth and does not intend to be a mass organization, Gorski told reporters today. Youth from secondary schools, students, young craftsmen and entrepreneurs dominate among the 13,000 of the union's members and sympathizers.

The UMD wants to take place in the political centre, Gorski stated. In future we want to gain political and financial independence from the Democratic Party, although 40 percent of our members belong to the DP, he said.

NATO Condemns Building Barbed-Wire Border Fence

AU2206174789 Paris AFP in English
1720 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Brussels, June 22 (AFP)—NATO condemned Romania on Thursday for building a barbed-wire fence on its border with Hungary, apparently to prevent ethnic Hungarians from fleeing Bucharest's forced assimilation programme.

"It is well known that members of the (NATO) alliance disapprove of any barriers which are erected deliberately to prevent the free movement of people", said a spokesman for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Hungary's MTI news agency reported Wednesday that the Romanian fence, which is close to completion, was about 2.5 metres (about seven feet) high and had a ditch on either side—presumably to prevent vehicles from crossing. Some 20,000 ethnic Hungarians have left Romania in the past two years, fleeing the forced assimilation campaign of President Nicolae Ceausescu, while a further 10,000 Romanians have also packed their bags.

The Romanian regime has also razed thousands of villages, mainly in the Transylvania region, resettling their inhabitants in grim Orwellian apartment blocks, often without running water or electricity.

Protest Meetings Against Hungary Events Noted

AU2206135089

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 19 June on pages 1, 2, and 3, under the headline "Firm Riposte to Fascist, Antisocialist, and Anti-Romanian Manifestations," carries 200-400 word-long reports on various "working people's meetings" held on 18 June in industrial and agricultural units from Bucharest and the Transylvanian counties of Arad, Bihor, Cluj, Maramures, Satu Mare, and Salaj to protest "anti-Romanian manifestations" among the crowd at the funeral of Imre Nagy in Budapest on 16 June. This material, totaling some 15,000 words, is repeated in SCINTEIA on 20 June—since that daily does not appear on a Monday—on pages 1, 2, and 3.

The introductory passage to the reports mentions that the participants in these meetings "strongly condemned the serious anti-socialist, revisionist, and anti-Romanian manifestations that took place in Budapest on 16 June" in connection with the "reburial of some former Hungarian politicians." The features themselves follow a set pattern: an opening report on the holding of such a meeting is followed by a brief outline of speeches made by various employees of the respective unit, including some with Hungarian-sounding names—who strongly condemn "the revival of reactionary, antisocialist, and counterrevolutionary forces in Hungary," protest "chauvinistic and anti-Romanian acts such as the 16 June manifestations in Budapest," and express "indignation" at "the slandering activities of some depraved and fascist traitors, who found shelter in Hungary"—after which a telegram to President Nicolae Ceausescu is adopted in which the participants express "strong and unanimous adherence to the party-state position of firmly rejecting the Budapest manifestations," which are "in contradiction with the interests of socialism of the principles included in the Helsinki Final Act" and "run counter to the spirit of understanding and good neighborliness." The reports mention that the participants in the meetings "take pride in Romania's great achievements" in the years of socialism, "particularly during the Nicolae Ceausescu Era" and "express firm support for the official protest of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania addressed to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic."

In conclusion, the speakers ask the Hungarian authorities to "put an end to such hostile anti-Romanian provocations," which amount to "gross and inacceptable interference in Romania's internal affairs."

Ceausescu Birthday Greetings to Li Xiannian

AU2206180889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1730 GMT 22 Jun 89

["Telegram to Comrade Li Xiannian, Chairman of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic of China"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 22/6/1989—I take the opportunity of your 80th birthday anniversary to convey you warm congratulations and best wishes.

I express my belief that the continuous development of the relations between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic of China will contribute in future, too, to the strengthening of the multilateral collaboration between the two countries, of the traditional friendship between the Romanian and the Chinese peoples.

I wish you, distinguished Comrade Li Xiannian, health, long life and power of work, new successes in your activity, and the friendly Chinese people ever greater achievements in their socialist homeland's development.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Cable Addressed to Ceausescu on Aviation Day

AU2206102489 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Jun 89 p 5

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by Participants in the Festive Meeting Devoted to Aviation Day in the Socialist Republic of Romania," in Bucharest on 18 June]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces,

In the climate of strong and creative enthusiasm in which the whole nation, closely united around our glorious Communist Party, is working with revolutionary self-denial and responsibility to fulfill the historic decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP—thus implementing, through their deeds of work and life, the theses, ideas, and guidelines included in your brilliant speech to the great democratic forum on 28-30 November 1988 and in the speech to the RCP plenum on 12-14 April 1989—the participants in the festive meeting marking the celebration of Aviation Day in the Socialist Republic of Romania express, on behalf of all defenders of the fatherland's clear skies, their sentiments of boundless love and profound gratitude to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, great leader of our party and state, brilliant strategian and founder of modern Socialist Romania, and prominent personality of the contemporary world.

At this festive time, we, the military aviators, like all soldiers of our Armed Forces, express our best feelings of gratitude for your decisive contribution to promoting the fatherland's comprehensive development, strengthening the country's defense capability, ceaselessly increasing Socialist Romania's international prestige, and building a better and more just world.

The great achievements of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" in the intensive and qualitatively higher development of industry, agriculture, and the entire economy and in the continuous growth of all the working people's material and intellectual living standard highlight the strength and ability of a free people, fully master of its destiny, who is led with clearsightedness by our Communist Party headed by you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, great hero among the nation's heroes and outstanding militant of the international communist and workers movement, who devoted your entire life and work to achieving the Romanian nation's supreme aspirations for social freedom, independence, progress, and well-being.

As a result of your constant care and of the great material and financial efforts made by our party and state, the Romanian aviation has scored many worthy results: It has developed modern technologies for aircraft construction, which are on a par with world requirements, and has highly professional pilots and technicians with a very good record of flight performance; all this make it enjoy a well deserved prestige both at home and abroad.

On the traditional celebration of the Romanian aviation, we express feelings of respect and great esteem and regard for Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, brilliant politician and scholar of world renown, for her outstanding contribution to our great socialist achievements, which have a major impact on the present and future development of the Romanian aircraft industry and aviation as well as of the Romanian science, education, and culture.

Honoring the glorious struggle traditions of our people and air force with new results in the fulfillment of our patriotic duty, we assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that now, on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress, we will spare no effort to exactingly implement the precious guidelines and orientations included in your great theoretical work. We will constantly improve our military, political, and specialized training, in the spirit of the principles of our national military doctrine whose illustrious founder you are, and we will work with revolutionary devotion to always serve the party, people and the cause of socialism, to commendably execute the missions entrusted to us, and to defend, together with the other components of the national defense system, our revolutionary achievements, the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the fatherland, and the clear and free skies of Socialist Romania.

Dascalescu Receives Polish Planning Official

AU2206170589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1611 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 22/6/1989—On Thursday, June 22, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, received Franciszek Gaik, minister, head of the Central Planning Department of the Polish People's Republic.

During the talk emphasis was placed on the good relations between Romania and Poland, and the wish was expressed to further develop them in keeping with the understandings covenanted at top level. In this framework, analysis was made of some concrete aspects regarding the intensification of trade exchanges, of cooperation and specialization in production, of the more active cooperation in the economic, technical-scientific and other fields of mutual interest.

The reception was attended by Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Present was Jerzy Wozniak, Poland's ambassador to Bucharest.

Grand National Assembly To Convene 29 Jun

AU2206172789 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly has decided that the proceedings of the ninth session of the Ninth Legislature of the Grand National Assembly be resumed on Thursday, 29 June, at 0700 GMT.

Substantial Cut in Nuclear Arms Favored

AU2206170989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1545 GMT 22 Jun 89

["For a Substantial Reduction of Strategic Nuclear Arms"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 22/6/1989—The Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on the 50 percent reduction of strategic nuclear arms are naturally followed with keen interest by the public opinion everywhere that supports their undelayed finalization—"SCINTEIA" writes in a commentary on the new round of talks. Stressing that the negotiations on halving strategic nuclear arms, started seven years ago, should end with positive results as people expect it, "SCINTEIA" writes: To reach an understanding in this respect in the shortest delay would be of utmost importance, would pave the way for undertaking more substantive measures to eliminate nuclear arsenals completely by the end of the millenium. All the more so as currently various "modernization" projects of certain militarist circles tend to annul the little progress made so far along the way of atomic disarmament or even to create extra forces.

Showing that the beginning made with the treaty on medium-range missiles should be continued and deepened President Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "Everything should be done for small steps—in our opinion—to continue with big strides, i.e. accords between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on halving strategic arms, first of all,—and we would like such a treaty to be concluded in 1989."

Evincing the most destructive character of strategic offensive systems, the paper points out that such data stringently require drastic cuts in these weapons of mass destruction. Attempts to justify the proliferation of strategic nuclear arms under the discredited theory of "mutual deterrence" in starting a conflict, made by supporters of the old way of thinking, are nothing else but the expression of suicidal logics.

The Geneva negotiations—the commentary points out—intend to remove these arms at least in part. Recent statements (from American sources) on the priority to be given now to negotiations on conventional arms, leaving aside talks on strategic nuclear arms for the time being, are groundless as the interests of peace demand a unitary approach and concomitant progress in all fields of disarmament.

Recalling that until now, it was agreed in Geneva that current levels be halved in the next seven years to reach a ceiling of 6,000 nuclear warheads and 1,600 vectors, on each either side, and other lower limits within these general figures, the paper writes: According to observers there are many outstanding issues which amount eventually to three major obstacles in the way of negotiations. First, it is the extension lately of long-range cruise missiles aboard submarines (mostly American ones).

Second, there are the mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles, which are more difficult to verify than those with fixed locations.

Third, there are the differences of interpretation on the ABM Treaty concluded in 1972, closely connected with the American Star Wars project; while the Americans support a more comprehensive interpretation of this treaty, which would allow the implementation of the first stage of this project, the Soviet side is for the strict observance of the treaty as it had been signed.

If not easy to settle, such like differences of opinion are neither irreconcilable and facts, including the Treaty on Medium-Range Nuclear Missiles, prove that when constructive, realistic attitudes prevail, the existing obstacles can be easily surpassed and mutually acceptable compromises can be reached to make a true step forward along the way of removing the specter of nuclear destruction.

Likewise, it is obvious that once the process started it cannot stop here. Opinions have it that a 50 percent cut in strategic arsenals would merely take us back seven years ago when START talks began. The elimination of the nightmare of a planetary catastrophe can never turn into a fact unless experiments with production and stockpiling of new nuclear arms are totally banned and the existing stockpiles are dismantled completely. It is the only way in which mankind can be freed of the greatest threat it has ever faced and Romania works tirelessly and consistently for the attainment of this aim alongside the broadest sociopolitical forces everywhere, "SCINTEIA" winds up.

U.S. Military Ships Visit Constanta Port

AU2206175289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1544 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 22/6/1989—Over 19-22 June, the American military ships "San Jacinto" and "Klakring" called at Constanta Port.

Vice Admiral I.D. Williams and a group of American officers were received and had talks at the National Defense Ministry, paid formal calls on the mayor of Constanta Municipality and the navy deputy commander.

A floral wreath was laid at the Victory Memorial in Constanta on behalf of the guests.

While in Romania, the crew saw round cultural establishments and tourist sites, monuments and places of historical interest in Bucharest and Constanta Municipalities, on the Romanian Black Sea shore and in northern Moldavia.

Markovic Meets Delegation of Newspaper Publishers
LD2206102989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The financial position of newspaper publishers could be improved through their involvement in line with the reforms currently underway in Yugoslavia. In other words, this means that the publishing houses must also follow the market logic and impose their quality in competition with others, getting rid of their own weaknesses, especially those of an organizational nature.

This was stressed by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic in today's meeting with a delegation of the business community of Yugoslav newspaper publishers and directors of newspaper houses, who briefed him on the difficult financial situation of newspaper publishers. Markovic also pointed out that the FEC would follow the policy it conducts in order to contribute toward improving the financial position of newspaper publishers. [passage omitted]

Daily Comments on Reaction to Markovic's Program
AU2206134889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jun 89 p 10

[Zvonko Logar commentary: "Premier Is an Optimist"]

[Text] The newspaper journalists reporting from the SFRY Assembly last Wednesday witnessed two different kinds of reaction by the delegates: The delegates attending the joint session first greeted Ante Markovic's speech with applause, and then subjected it to extensive criticism in the separate sessions of the two chambers. If the first reaction can be explained as the usual act of courtesy, or perhaps praise for his consistency, what happened later in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, and in the Federal Chamber next day, illustrates, at the very least, that the road between the principled support for a government's program and reaching an accord on its details can often be very long and that it can even be accompanied with numerous political complications.

After the premier delivered his speech, which was not distributed to the delegates in advance, the delegates were only able to react to the intonation of some of his points and to reflect not so much on what the program contained, but rather on what it did not contain. The same applies to the details of the "package," because they arrived in the Assembly only shortly before the session started.

One could conclude from the speech of the President of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] that at present he and his team attach more importance to the building of a new economic system than to the steps that would immediately improve the general situation. Markovic mentioned "colossal results," but they perhaps refer more to what has so far been done on shaping the system, rather than to how to actually put the situation in the economy in order. This is by no means insignificant, but the question is whether this is sufficient when the demands that something be done about the galloping inflation are already coming from the broadest public, and not only from the circles which could be accused of wanting to square their accounts with the new government.

To economic experts, combating inflation is all part of the job. They know how this should be done. However, no scenario on how to curb inflation quickly can be imagined without freezing prices and expenditure, at least for a short period of time. Markovic is running away from this like—as our old folks would say—"a bat out of Hell" because of bad experiences in the past or perhaps more likely because he did not want to let himself down. He said that he did not want to do that. It is certainly a matter of political honor for him to keep his word. This is why his team has chosen a circuitous way to go about it: He wants to control money flow, encourage production, increase domestic supply, liberalize imports, and let prices set themselves through competition.

Without now entering into a discussion about the realism of the optimistic forecast that inflation could be slowed down next fall, or at least by the end of the year, the open question is still whether one should really expect the new economic system to start functioning quickly and efficiently. This is one of the most important preconditions for those who appear on the market to start behaving in an economic way and try to find in this new economic environment their interest for calming down prices. Markovic probably counts on this a lot and this is why he is rushing the Assembly to change the systemic laws so that the introduction of new economic suppositions does not drag.

However, all this is still "far off." The Assembly is full of bills with so many new conceptual elements that many "swords will be crossed" before they are adopted. Even if all these novelties were to be adopted, we need time. For instance, what was proposed in the bill on labor relations is truly revolutionizing the still widely spread self-managing fundamentalism in terms of the rights of the workers in so-called associated labor. Or, the proposal that all enterprises which have assets worth at least $1 million could become eligible for imports without having to be export companies. There are many other novelties. Even these will have many opponents. The attractive sound of Markovic's empty phrase about "new socialism" can become increasingly controversial when discussions on certain government projects flare up, because one must not forget that a rather large number of our leading politicians still believe that Yugoslav socialism needs only some corrections rather than truly fundamental reforms of the system.

Therefore, these circuitous roads to the stabi. zation of the situation in the market and the economy could turn into long wanderings in the mist. What is also unusual is the coincidence between the visit by a prominent Israeli professor and the head of the Central Bank, Michael

Bruno, who is perhaps the only successful creator of a shock therapy to tame hyperinflation that appeared in recent years, and the government's attempts to resist the ideas that it should do something quickly to curb inflation. Because of his academic politeness and a sense for diplomacy, he mainly refrained from giving advice. However, commenting on Israel and some other countries he indirectly replied to the questions which he was avoiding. His shock-therapy recipe primarily assumes among other measures—which include temporary price freeze and considerable cuts in the government's spending—a full political agreement that inflation must be curbed at any price. This has undoubtedly made an impact on our experts but not on politicians, unless this is how one interprets Markovic's statement—when he spoke about a relative decrease in the federal budget—that other countries that are fighting inflation have adopted this approach.

Judging by the first commentaries on the last Assembly discussion, one can notice that the representative of the so-called "southern republics" came up, not without a bias, with sharper criticisms. By doing so they have in a way revived the dispute that has been "simmering" for a long time: Who does inflation suit? When this topic was dealt with for the first time, it was said that during times of inflation everybody is a loser. This was then followed by arguments that some people benefit from inflation. This view was subsequently moderated: If prices do not provide reliable information, then the success of many business moves would become questionable and one would not be able to seriously talk about changes in the economic structure.

Therefore, long-present inflation does not have anything good for anybody. However, the mentality that has been formed in our politics in recent years is to see everything in short terms. Thus, those whose prices are mainly uncontrolled are not, to put it mildly, as much against inflation as those whose prices are still controlled by the state. This was graphically presented in the latest "Contact Magazine" program on Titograd Television by the Montenegrin premier who said that the structure of the economy in this republic is such that at present a half of all prices are under direct control and that this contradicts the data that 85 percent of prices in the whole of the country are not under control. Considering that in approving new prices the state is less generous than the market, the parts of the country whose economies include energy generating plants and other infrastructural branches, must feel more affected by current hyperinflation.

Therefore, it is difficult to believe that the demands that the government introduce some short-term anti-inflationary measures are only tactical in nature.

So far Ante Markovic has been strictly adhering to his positions. Some people think that his latest speech means even their reinforcement, or even some kind of counterattack on his critics. However, this counterattack was immediately followed by the equally strong response, ranging from refrained reservations to the claim that the government's optimism was not "warranted." In addition, the debate on the majority of systemic laws has only started. What complications will arise and how will the economic system look when it is passed through all interest filters?

The changes in the economic system, the way Markovic and his team envisaged them, are the ticket in which the government has invested most. The stakes are high while the chances to win are, at least at present, extremely uncertain. We are therefore in the situation when even a rapid denouement remains uncertain.

Jovic Addresses Teachers, Cadets of Navy School

LD2206215189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Split, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—Our community values highly the adaption of the development of weapons and the Navy to society's realistic financial abilities, as well as your full moral and political unity, Dr Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, told teachers and cadets of the Navy's Marhsal Tito center of higher education schools in Split.

Stressing that our country's security has always, and still does, depend to a large extent upon the international political situation, Jovic spoke in detail on the current international situation.

The era of negotiating and mutual agreement-seeking between the military blocs and leading super powers, which our country and the Nonaligned Movement have been advocating for decades, reduced the danger of their mutual direct confrontations and thus of a large-scale world conflict. However, the danger from a world conflict is far from eliminated, especially fears for the security and sovereignty of numerous other smaller countries. Observed from a long-term viewpoint, it is realistic to expect further positive changes in the world, the further democratization of international relations, the abandonment of political confrontation and orientation toward comprehensive development of relations and cooperation.

Despite these positive trends which Yugoslavia supports wholeheartedly, Jovic continued, we cannot say that all danger has been eliminated of confrontations and conflicts, or of the external danger for the security of our country. The danger has been reduced, but viewed realistically it still exists. For this reason, in making our defense preparations against a possible aggressor, we must be continually involved in consolidating our defense ability, and strengthening our combat readiness and our readiness to defend our country in any situation. In our Armed Forces ranks, especially in operational units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] such as the Navy, we must at any given moment ensure a reliable deterrence factor and a defense factor if needed.

Continuing his speech, Jovic spoke about the process of deep changes in Europe, laying emphasis on the special importance which economic and political reforms in socialist countries, especially the reforms in the Soviet Union, have for contemporary international developments. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia is an active participant in all these trends in international relations. It has had such a prominent role for decades. It continues to have this role today despite numerous domestic difficulties. Because of its own strategic interests it must continue to have this role in future and in particular must do its utmost in order to assess its future role as the chairman of the Noaligned Movement as successfully as possible.

Yugoslavia's dynamism and initiatives on the international scene are motivated by its needs and interests, above all for the sake of preserving its international position and independent status, stressed Jovic, illustrating this with examples of our numerous international activities. However, alongside our international dynamism, one should stress that our internal difficulties, especially the economic ones, but also those other—political—which have been present over a long period of time, are beginning to burden our international position and diminish the effects of our foreign political commitment. [passage omitted]

Changes in the SFRY Constitution which we introduced recently are an important step within the framework of reforming the economic system. However, tackling numerous problems partly concerning the political system, especially the functions of the federation and the electoral system, has been postponed. Changes in the economic system enable us to create more efficient enterprises but this is not sufficient; we also need a more efficient state than the present one, which passes decisions slowly and with a great deal of effort and also implements them with inefficiently. It is impossible to have an efficient economy with an inefficient state. [passage omitted]

We will have to clarify numerous ideopolitical questions which determine the character and content of the new SFRY Constitution, because the social crisis and the necessity of resolving this cannot brook further delay. Many of them have already been raised in the public discussion on the amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

One of the most essential questions, stressed Jovic, is advancing relations in the federation, as an essential condition for the comprehensive social reform which we have embarked on. In this respect we must start with the immediate political interests of the workers themselves and the citizens, and we must build into our constitutional system mechanisms which will enable the federal state to ensure the same general, economic and legal conditions for every individual and every enterprise in Yugoslavia, while also ensuring national equality and a corresponding position for the republics and provinces. That is easy to say but more difficult to achieve, because of the numerous contradictions which one encounters in this respect. But we will have to make efforts to find the best common solution, which in any case should be more effective and better than the current one.

In fact the weakness of the current constitutional provisions in the functioning of our state lies largely in the fact that it is partly a federation and partly a confederation. In its functions, which are numerous and important, it is more a federation, while as far as the method of decisionmaking on them is concerned—by consensus and agreement—it is more of a confederation. It is in large part from this illogical dualism that its ineffectiveness arises as well as the frequent blocking of social trends. Because of this we must, by way of further constitutional changes, find solutions which will enable our federal state to have the functions which belong to this type of state, but so that it is effective, while at the same time we must guarantee the equality of all its members.

The effectiveness of the federation, according to competent professional and scientific opinion, requires that certain issues in the area of economic functions should be better resolved, issues which by their nature belong to a state of the federal type and which, above all, relates to the implementation of responsibility by the federation for the unity of the market. It is a question of better solutions in the monetary and fiscal areas which will be further checked and probably further improved, in order to ensure the unhindered functioning of a united Yugoslav market, the stability of the national currency, the strengthening of the defense and security of the country, as well as other normal state functions. It is not a question here of any kind of unitarist tendencies, rather of ensuring normal functions which every effective, modern and rational federal state should have. In this respect it must be ensured that everyone lives from their own work and that we all contribute to meeting general social needs in proportion to our material capabilities.

Social contradictions and the difficult economic situation, accompanied by an increasingly difficult material position for people, the economy, the municipalities and even for whole republics and provinces, have opened up numerous interrepublican and intranational contradictions and friction, as well as open interrepublican and intranational conflict.

The various and, in practice, opposing economic interests in our society have always existed and will exist. However, the question is how they can be successfully resolved. The whole mechanism of the political system to date is established in such a way that those various economic interests, as well as other social problems, are resolved predominantly on the basis of inter-republican consensus by republican and provincial organs. This is why all conflicts are expressed as interrepublican ones, because almost all real social problems which could be resolved through various forms of participation by the

most interested parties—enterprises, the citizens themselves and their various associations—are concentrated into one point in the form of interrepublican relations and they are very often expressed as the conflict of nations. That is without doubt the basic weakness of our political system. By the logic of the current political system, instead of contributions being made to the advancement of interrepublican and intranational relations in our federation, those relations are often exacerbated. Already in the constitutional discussion to date the question has been broached of establishing different structures for the organs of power in the federation, but common solutions could not be found, so we will have to carry out these tasks in the next constitutional changes.

In seeking solutions for our problems and vital reforms there are also unacceptable approaches and tendencies. I do not wish on this occasion to speak about the extreme cases where the Yugoslav federation and state are disputed, since I am deeply convinced that contemporary Yugoslavia is firmly founded in the joint struggle against the foreign conqueror in the national liberation war and in the socialist revolution. It is not simply a coincidence, but rather an inevitable historical act arising from long years of aspirations, ideals and needs of kindred peoples who for centuries have been living in its lands with feelings of ethnic similarity and the awareness that together in a common struggle against foreign elements they could more successfully ensure their survival and progress in the troubled Balkan lands.

However, I would like to point out certain problems which have arisen in implementing our policy of full equality for all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, problems which seriously affect our overall political, security, and social stability as a whole.

The most visible expression of the current social-economic crisis has been the occurrence of serious instances of disunity, conflict and confrontation between individual leaderships and between socialist republics and autonomous provinces. At the heart of these conflicts are differing economic interests, the desire to maintain existing monpolistic positions and to preserve relations in society despite the fact that they clearly cause great damage, even to the extent of instances of people being labeled, exclusivity and a lack of preparedness to respect the rights and interests of others and to seek solutions in a democratic way which are acceptable to all.

This situation has already caused great damage to intranational and interrepublican relations, has slowed down the resolving of the economic and social crisis in Yugoslavia and has, with justification, caused concern among our people for the fate of the country and its future. One must bear in mind that not a single society or state can develop or has ever developed without internal conflicts and clashes. Such conflicts and clashes have always been present during the course of our postwar development. However, as opposed to the current political situation, they were resolved in narrow political-state or party circles often by way of compromise and even with personal showdowns. Today times have changed, everything happens in the open and so seems far more dangerous and tragic, but the most tragic thing in all of this is that the problems are accumulating, and are not being resolved, or are being resolved extremely slowly. [passage omitted]

Bureaucracy is prepared to do anything in order to preserve its privileged social position. In the name of its own allienated interests bureaucracy has for years succeeded in blocking resolute public demands for economic and social reforms, demands for greater democracy in decisionmaking on all public issues, for greater justice, freer manifestation of work and creativity, a healthier environment, etc. [passage omitted]

When resolving social conflicts in Yugoslavia we have always proceeded from national differencies and have recognized and developed all the national values of our nations and nationalities, consistently adhering to the principles of national affirmation, emancipation and equality. For this reason it is almost superfluous today to discuss whether one is to establish some kind of a new federal supranational center or accuse nations in Yugoslavia of demanding to have a separate hegemonistic domination, just as it is superfluous to strive in modern conditions toward resolving the national issue of any nation in Yugoslavia by consolidating separatism, encouraging the awareness of selfsufficiency, as well as by aspiring toward the creation of separate autonomous national states within Yugoslavia. The domination of any of these concepts would inevitably lead to the break up of the SFRY. I am convinced that none of its nations would allow such a thing, just as the world and Europe, striving as they are toward integration, would not be able to understand it today. [passage omitted]

There is no need for me to convince you, members of the YPA, to what extent every violation of intranational relations weakens the foundations of our concept of all-people's defense and there is also no need for me to explain in any more detail how every violation of intranational relations in Yugoslavia is particularly reflected on the YPA and the Armed Forces as a whole. The struggle for national equality, brotherhood and unity in the country as a whole and in the ranks of the YPA is most directly in the function of the consolidation of our defense ability and thus the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia. We must all take care of this, stressed Jovic.

Speaking at length on Kosovo, Jovic said that Kosovo is and remains one of the main political, moral, social and therefore security problems of our country, adding that the political situation and problems in Kosovo could not be resolved in the long-term by extraordinary measures, but only by a broad political action. The extraordinary measures have created conditions for state institutions to function, but also for political measures and activities which had almost faded away until then, or were directed against the LCY policy and Yugoslavia's interests.

We must also view the campaign against the concept of all-people's defense (ONO) and the YPA as a dangerous aspect of hostile activity, directly targeted toward the breaking up of Yugoslavia, stressed Jovic.

There must be resolute opposition to and condemnation of attempts to found some kind of republican armies, to seek liberal way of commanding and changes in the YPA's internal relations, to misinform the public on the financial basis of the concept of ONO, as well as of demands for radical reductions in funds to finance the YPA, the encouragement of young people to adopt a negative attitude to military profession military service, demands for the public verification of production intended for military purposes, especially of vandal attacks on the YPA members and military property.

In keeping with its constitutional duty and responsibility the SFRY Presidency will protect the reputation, dignity and moral integrity of our Army without any compromises. Furthermore, we will insist that everywhere where attacks on the YPA occur, legal and other measures, both to prevent them and to unmask them are taken. Compromises over these issues would mean compromises with the enemy of this country and we must not allow it at any cost.

You, members of the Army, are rightly expected to preserve your full moral and political unity and your Yugoslav and national character, as you have done so far in these crucial moments of the struggle for the survival and progress of our community, and also to ensure the YPA's combat ability and to be prepared at any moment to defend our homeland, concluded the vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

14th Congress Preparations Committee Meets

LD2206100789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—A report on League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] activities and work of the LCY Central Committee between the 13th LCY Congress and 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress must assess fully, objectively and critically, activities of party bodies and forums and, at the same time, it must answer clearly why, in the period characterized by obvious worsening of the social situation and exacerbation of the crisis, the orientations of the last [13th] congress are not implemented. Within this framework, a discussion lasting several hours was held today at the committee for preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee. The discussion concerned the working version of the draft proposed report by LCY activities and the work of the LCY Central Committee between the 13th and forthcoming party congresses.

Explaining the content of the working version of the document, Stefan Korosec, the leader of the special LCY Central Committee commission entrusted to draw up the document, marked as the main characteristics of the intercongress period a significant progress in democratization of society, heightening of people's awareness about the necessity of reforms, a strong politisation of the public and deepening of the crisis. He stressed record inflation, serious political conflicts in the League of Communists [LC] and the country, and the increasing spread of dissatisfaction among the working people and citizens.

Are we entering a strategic conflict within the LC, Korosec asked, and added that we must talk openly about this, so that we can know what to expect from the forthcoming congress. The situation in Kosovo has influenced significantly the deepening of the crisis.

Having talked in great detail about the structure and main assumptions of the working version of the report, Korosec noted that a climate for democratic and tolerant dialogue has not been created in the LC. Such a climate is a precondition for successful preparations of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

He advocated correct measures and critical assessments about the work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium between the two congresses, above all, to draw the "correct political lesson." At the end of his introductory remarks, Korosec said that a dilemma about a concept of congress documents has been opened, and for that reason we should perhaps reopen a debate on these documents so that fresh input can be made. [passage omitted]

Assessing that the period between the 13th and forthcoming 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress is the most controversial in the whole LCY history, Milan Kucan said that regardless of everything, messages of the 13th LCY Congress were clear. We must say what has been realized, and I believe that much has been done.

Kucan objected to general assessments in the report. When, for instance, it is said that there is increasingly less unity in the LC, then it has to be said regarding which issues. As is known, there is even more unity now regarding global orientation to reform. The question is whether we have created a democratic atmosphere for change in the society. [passage omitted]

Kucan favors the report identifying antireformist forces. Regarding LCY Central Commitee activities, we should ask which problems the highest party forum put on the agenda. Except two sessions, he believes, all others were devoted to "marginal topics." It should be revealed who insisted that precisely these topics are dominant, and not the essential ones.

The reasons for strengthening disintegration processes must be clarified. There is no stronger integration force than a successful project of social development. It is also necessary to assess concretely to what degree the platform on Kosovo is implemented.

Kucan believes that the LC is in the situaton in which it must answer whether it will direct and initiate social reforms, or just respond to uncontrollable forces. We will not "sustain" principle orientation to nonparty political pluralism unless we find a true model of political organization of society at times when it will be necessary to "reconcile" the existing value-system with the fact that the introduction of the reform means, in some elements, the return of capitalistic relations. If we do not do this, ideological prejudices against a multiparty system will be insufficient, "and it will be here with us."

Kucan objected to a general assessment that the LC embarked on the reform under the pressure of politization of the "masses." There are differences here, because the Slovene LC did not embark on reforms under pressures. The Slovene LC also underlined equality and problems of intranational relations in Yugoslavia as main topics. We should pay attention also to human rights and liberties, because reforms will be unsuccessful if we look at them only through excessive phenomena, Kucan concluded.

Concluding the discussion, Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the president of the preparation committee, stressed that the committee formed by the LCY Central Committee for drawing up this report should in its further work, bear in mind all comments and suggestions made today.

He said that it is inadmissable that forthcoming discussions about the report turn only into criticisms without "inspirative relation" toward tasks facing the LC and society as a whole. Despite numerous justified remarks at LCY Central Committee addresses, "the target" of critics should not be just the top party forum, because LC organization in republics and provinces are responsible for the implementation of the established LC policy. [passage omitted]

Since the committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium will consider problems in the second half of July, and in August the LCY Central Committee should make a final decision about the manner of organization of and number of members of LCY bodies after the 14th extraordinary congress, which would enable timely elections of candidates before the congress.

LC Commission Proposes Postponement of Plenum

LD2206103289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2045 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 21 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Plenum on inter-ethnic relations scheduled for July should be postponed, as its holding under the present cirmunstances in the country could only increase the gap between the existing differences and even threaten the holding of the party congress, the LCY Central Committee Commission for inter-ethnic relations said.

The plenum should be better prepared so that its conclusions may serve as a foundation for a special congress document, participants in today's commission session said.

A session on the postponement lies with the LCY Central Committee Presidency.

One of the opinions heard at today's session was that in view of the current tension in the country the plenum could completely break up the already fragile unity of the League of Communists.

Optimum conditions for talks on inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia require the existence of common values as a basis for criteria on assessing the situation in one's own surrounding, a commission member said. He added that such values only formally exist, and that they are approached from nationalist positions or positions close to nationalism.

Patriotic Initiative Committee Issues Appeal

AU2206113289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 89 p 5

[S. Numanovic report: "Keys of Regression"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Jun—"With this act, we want to express our protest at the numerous processes which are threatening the stability of the country, our future, and the future of the generations to come. In this statement we are primarily protesting against different combinations and permutations [kombinatorika], political keys and padlocks which close all the doors and windows into the future. They have definitely taken away our present." This is the message in the appeal to the public by a group of young people from Sarajevo who have set up the Committee for a Yugoslav Patriotic Initiative.

Further on in the statement, the committee members also express their disagreement with the policy of the rotating system as the only criterion for elections to different political posts. "We are not condemning the rotating system, nor are we rejecting it in advance, we believe that it is impossible to scrap it at the present time, but we are warning that the country is in a great crisis and this policy has in fact sponsored this situation to a great extent. We think that today, as we enter the 21st century, we are more in need of capable and educated people," the statement says further and demands that Yugoslavs "of which there are about two million receive their own 'rotating system' and have their own man in one of the leading positions."

This group of young people warn that the conflict between Slovenia and Serbia has already attained alarming proportions and stresses; "We are witnessing the fact that kicking shins under the federal table has grown into open epistolary quarreling between two of our states—Serbia and Slovenia—which has at its foundation the struggle for the domination of Yugoslavia by one or the

other. Thus, all the cards are finally on the table and we are all chips. In this context, we are addressing an initiative to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia to open a public debate on this conflict. We believe that equal well-argued dialogue worthy of a civilized person is more suitable than uncontrolled name-calling."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Distrust

As regards the resignations of the president and secretary of the Yugoslav youth organization, the committee members are expressing their distrust in the present incomplete presidium of the Yugoslav youth organization. "We consider nebulous a policy that will accept in principle the sacrifice of intelligent and honest people because of mediocre stands and trends." The members of this Sarajevo committee demand that people who will advocate unity while fully respecting the differences which must exist, sit in as important a forum as the Yugoslav youth organization presidium.

Government Sets Fixed Price for Basic Foofstuffs

LD2206203589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 22 Jun 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government decided to alocate 600,000 tons of wheat and considerable quantities of sugar, oil and flour to be sold at fixed prices with the purpose of protecting the poorest strata of society at least until autumn from the expected new shocks of hyperinflation and uncontrolled price rises.

An average monthly income in Yugoslavia equalled 204 U.S. dollars in April, while in June it took 40 cents to buy a one-kilo loaf of bread.

At its session today, the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic, which took office early in March vowing it would ensure free price formation and a floating dinar rate with respect to the major currencies, was today once again forced to bow to the pressure of circumstances.

It decided to advise the Board of Bank Governors to adopt a policy of banning rates which would ensure that the purchase price of wheat be formed freely in the market.

Up to now, Yugoslavia has not applied the policy of price liberalization in the domain of food purchase prices, the conseqence of which was that general living standards were protected at the expense of farmers. The result of this was that during the years of intensive industrial development, surplus value generated by the private sector was transferred to the social sector.

Two days ago nearly 30,000 peasants demonstrated in Novi Sad, capital of Yugoslavia's bread-basket province of Vojvodina, against the official purchase price for this year's wheat set at the dinar equivalent of about 15 U.S. cents per kilo. And this year's wheat will be purchased at the official price only in case demand fails to drive the price up. Angry peasants, who cited high prices of fertilizers and diesel fuel, threatened they would use the wheat as cattle feed.

They argue that is absurd that they should need to sell four tons of wheat at the official price in order to be able to pay for a single tractor tyre.

AYDI Assembly Discusses Verbal Offense Article

AU2206092389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 89 p 8

[D. Mojovic report: "Even a Conversation About Verbal Offense Is an Offense"]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun—After many difficulties, the Belgrade branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] has managed to hold a discussion on the subject "Why has verbal offense not been abolished?" The discussion was to be organized by the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade and the AYDI and should have been held in the Student Cultural Center on Wednesday, 14 June at 1900 as had been decided by the center. However, the holding of the discussion was suddenly prevented and, as we have learned unofficially, that was done at the request of the director of the Student Cultural Center. The POLITIKA announcement of the discussion was subsequently also withdrawn.

Since the AYDI Executive Committee and the editor of the discussion forums in the Student Cultural Center, who participated in the preparations for this discussion, received no explanation for the "ban" on this discussion in the Student Cultural Center, the discussion was held last Friday (16 June) in the Dusko Radovic Children Theater. If there are no more troubles of this kind, the assembly of the Belgrade AYDI is scheduled to be held on 26 June at the same place.

Vesna Pesic was the moderator of the discussion about the reasons why the crime of verbal offense has still not been abolished despite many demands. The following people took part in it: Kosta Cavoski, Vladan Vasilijevic, and Nebojsa Popov. Goran Cvetkovic's radio drama "Article 133 of the Criminal Code" was played instead of having somebody hold an introductory speech.

The first demands to abolish verbal offense were made 10 years ago when a group of 103 citizens of Belgrade, Zagreb, and several other cities signed the first petition demanding the abolition of the article. In Kosta

Cavoski's opinion, one of the reasons why it has not been abolished, despite numerous demands by groups of citizens or professional associations, is that every prosecutor "reserves the right to use this article in the future and the imprecise definitions in the article enable him to use it for anything he wants." Apart from this reason, the article on verbal offense has been retained because it was "meant to preserve the symbol of this regime—verbal offense has been featured in all authoritarian and totalitarian regimes from Caesarism to Bonapartism, Stalinism, and real socialism."

According to Vladan Vasilijevic from the Institute for Criminological Studies, authoritarian systems introduce verbal offense with a view to "predicting even the impossible in order to save the highest political elite from all surprises." In Nebojsa Popov's opinion, this article of the Criminal Code is "a symbol of restrictive and repressive systems." One of the reasons why it has been retained is the fact "that several postwar generations have gone through authoritarian political indoctrination which had as its consequence a widely spread subject [podanicki] mentality."

Trade Unions Demand Change, 40-Hour Work Week

LD2206205189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1936 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav trade union organization today renewed its demand that work week be shortened from 42 to 40 hours.

The proposal was also made in a recent public debate and now it is being demanded that it be incorporated into a package of changes in the law on labour relations, scheduled for passage late in July.

The trade union organization also demanded that the workers' right to strike be made legal. As stated at today's session of the Presidency of the Council of the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions, a definitive decision on whether to embody the right to strike in the law on labour relations or in some separate regulation will be decided on some later occasion.

Yugoslavia's trade union leadership stressed today that it was not against economic reforms but that it could also not accept the position in which the government makes decisions and the trade union organization suffers the adverse consequences of the turn in the country's economic policy. It was said that without money, the trade union organization could not be able to cope with the problems of social security which are bound to become acute once workers are left jobless as a result of reforms.

It was said today that a way out of the present situation should come from more work and higher income and that to make this happen we must turn to efforts aimed at economic recovery.

Horvat Protests Ban on Association Registration

AU2206152989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 89 p 5

[Letter from Branko Horvat, president of the Council of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, to Antun Milovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia: "Your Department Violated the Constitution"]

[Text] "Respected Comrade President,

"As you know, the republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs recently refused to register the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative explaining that the 'point and aims of founding the association go beyond the character of a citizens' association.' As I have the honor of being one of the founders and the first elected president of this association's council, I have been prevailed upon to react," says a letter which Dr Branko Horvat has sent to Antun Milovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and which BORBA is publishing in full.

Department, Policy....

"In the media the refusal to register the organization was linked to the activities of the Socialist Alliance and the League of Communists of Croatia. I consider such a link to be mistaken. According to the law, the Internal Affairs Secretariat is the only one responsible for registering citizens' associations. As the internal affairs secretariat is one of the departments of the government that you head, the Executive Council is the only one competent regarding—and responsible for—the decision in question. Therefore, I am turning to you, as the president of the Executive Council. This involves the fact that the decision of your department was 1) illegal, 2) unconstitutional, 3) at variance with the international obligations of Yugoslavia, and 4) at variance with the proclaimed policy of the Yugoslav state and the League of Communists.

"1. The association in question was founded with the aim of contributing to the democratic integration of Yugoslavia. Members of the association and its management organs belong to all the Yugoslav nationalities and live in all areas of the country. The law neither directly nor indirectly bans these Yugoslav citizens from forming an association for the sake of the democratization and integration of the country in which they live. The law could obviously not impose such an absurd ban.
"2. The decision is also unconstitutional because the Constitution guarantees the freedom of association.
"3. The decision is at variance with the international obligations that have been undertaken, that is, the obligations that Yugoslavia has signed and is preparing to ratify.
"4. The decision is at variance with the proclaimed policy of the highest state and political organs of this country which advocate constructive political pluralism.

In this connection, the question is asked, does your department conduct its own special policy or is it obliged to implement the policy of the state leadership?

....And Political Culture

"I must, however, stress that the aforementioned legal and political errors do not particularly disturb me. The Socialist Alliance has already publicly dissociated itself from the aforementioned decision and we can leave the legal part of the problem to lawyers. I do not doubt in the least that the Administrative Court of Croatia will overturn this decision of the republican Internal Affairs Secretariat. What really causes concern are the social and civilizational implications of the behavior of the department for internal affairs.

"Croatia has its own assemblies for a whole millennium which also means that its statehood has continued. But at the end of the 20th century an administrative organ in this Croatia has the courage to state that concern for the democratization of public and political life 'goes beyond the character of a citizens' association.' This formulation is even linguistically wrong, and I will not even talk about the devaluation of the dignity of Croatian political culture. This must be seen as an insult by all citizens of Croatia who, regardless of nationality, share the historical traditions, culture, and civilizational achievements of the people who live here.

"Furthermore, the Yugoslav idea arose to a great extent and was nurtured actually in this republic. In the Croatia of Josip Jurja Strosmajer, one administrative organ is today banning citizens from getting involved, on their own initiative, in the integration of Yugoslavia! Does this step not seem really unbelievable to you?

"I am sure, Comrade President, that you share my concern because of this disagreeable event. We all know that mistakes and errors happen in life as a result of ignorance, bureaucratic irresponsibility, and other reasons. But mistakes can—and must—be corrected. I hope, therefore, that the Executive Council will overturn this irregular decision made by one of its departments as soon as possible, before this is done by the Administrative Court and before the harm that has been done becomes impossible to rectify."

Croatian Socialist-Liberal Alliance Head Speaks

AU1906174889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 89 p 4

[S. Vranic report: "Life By Agreement"]

[Text] Zagreb, 14 June—The two concepts (both without a hope of prevailing over the whole of Yugoslav territory) which are simplistically defined as "Eastern" and "Western" are moving increasingly further away from an agreement and closer to a conflict whose epilogue would be the Lebanonization of Yugoslavia. This dreary forecast was made by Dr Slavko Goldstajn, head of the Croatian Social-Liberal Alliance, at today's press conference which was arranged by the executive council of this recently founded alternative alliance in order to brief the public on its stands.

Replying to the question "What will become of us?" and stating that he was not giving only his personal stand, Goldstajn said that it was possible to avoid the worst if a bargain were to be struck concerning the way of life in Yugoslavia, and that the League of Communists, which still holds power, is not hinting at striking a bargain but is doing the opposite, so—in Goldstajn's opinion—non-communist forces should offer their platforms which they would use to reach an accord with those people in all the other republics who hold similar or identical views. Assuming the existence of the platforms themselves, good will without previously-set conditions is also needed for the bargain.

In the context of such thoughts—stressed Goldstajn—the Croatian Socialist-Liberal Alliance will acquaint the public with its own program. A part of this program is also the attempt to economically strengthen Croatia which, he says, is suffering from apathy and the feeling of hopelessness (which is the result of a long-lasting silence that was sensible only up to a certain point). In this sense, and within the framework of its "economic program," the alliance will initiate the formation of stock companies and other activities which will contribute to the economic recovery.

Otherwise, the alliance called today's press conference primarily in order to brief the public on its stands concerning the events in China and Kosovo and—what was called—the violation of human rights in this province. This innate violent solving of social conflicts—it is said in the statement on the bloodshed in Beijing—came to the fore in the earliest history of communism in the crushing of the 1920 Kronshtadt sailors uprising, only to be bloodily continued until the genocide in Cambodia and the military dictatorship in Poland. Stressing that the Croatian Socialist-Liberal Alliance was founded in order to oppose such "totalitarian perspectives," the statement says further that the Croatian Socialist-Liberal Alliance advocates above all a more decisive and parallel realization of political democratization and economic reform in Yugoslavia.

As regards the violation of human rights in Kosovo, the statement stresses, among other things, that "there is no doubt that the practice of isolating citizens exists in Kosovo, that this isolation is against the law, and is continuing," and insists that these measures should be scrapped as soon as possible.

Journalists were informed today that the Croatian Socialist-Liberal Alliance currently has around 600 members. This alliance is still waiting to be registered with the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and so is unable to begin publishing its own newspaper.

Democrats Dissociate From Members at Meeting

LD1906130489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—Some of the members of the so-called Committee for the Preparation of the Founding Assembly of Croat Democratic Community have sent a statement to Zagreb editorial offices whereby they dissociate themselves from that part of their membership who "convened the founding meeting and adopted the community's documents without their knowledge."

The seven signatories, including Ante Paradzik, Vladimir Veselica, and Ivan Gabelica, say in their statement that "Franjo Tudjman has begun imposing unacceptable and undemocratic methods of work from the very beginning of this initial circles's work, which is contrary to the spirit and principles of the Croat Democratic Community." It adds that "the so-called founding assembly was held without our knowledge and approval, and against our will. We do not want to participate in such work and we dissociate ourselves from all the conclusions and consequences of such an assembly."

The Founding Assembly of the Croat Democratic Community was scheduled for Saturday morning but a ruling by the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs banned it.

Zagreb youth radio reported on Saturday afternoon that the founding assembly was convened after all.

Croat Supreme Court Applies 'Double Standards'

AU2206152089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 89 p 4

[Z.T. report: "Double Standards for a Ban"]

[Text] Rijeka [no date as published]—Going against all expectations and the reports that were reaching Rijeka, the Supreme Court of Croatia today passed a decision to permanently ban the youth magazine VAL because of its articles entitled "Kosovo in Six Points" by Ante Rokov and "Apocalypse Now" by Srdjan Vrancic. The court vindicated the article "Defense and Last Days," in which Azem Vlasi's attorney explains why he thinks that the inquiry is not being conducted strictly in accordance with the law, and how he intends to organize his defense. It is interesting to note that Ante Rokov's article was actually a letter to the editorial board which had already been published in Koper PRIMORSKE NOVICE, and that immediately after the ban, VAL published it in Slovene, but that the Prosecutor's Office did not react.

What can be done in one commune obviously cannot be done in another. The permanent ban has caused considerable material damage. The Communal Conference of the Rijeka Youth Organization is of the opinion that the Supreme Court has violated all legal time limits because it spent almost 2 months to decide to impose this permanent ban.

Serbian Presidency Rejects 'Hegemonism' Charges

LD2206222989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2107 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—"Yugoslavia is disintegrated in a way unknown to modern world," the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidency assessed here on Thursday.

The political leadership of Serbian Communists, the most numerous in the two-million-strong membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), which is now regionalized into six parties, pointed out that separatism and confederalist aspirations are the main characteristics of the destructive anti-Yugoslav policy.

Its protagonists are the aucratic-statist forces who took positions on the barricades of opposed republican-provincial interests, the session was told.

Struggle for Yugoslavia and for its protection from similar onslaughts is not unitarianism but a condition of the country's survival in Europe and the world, the Serbian party leadership assessed.

For some time now the Serbian party leadership has been the target of attacks from the northern Yugoslav republics, which claim that it plans to push through hegemonism of the most numerous nation under the guise of struggle for Yugoslavia.

These charges were rejected in Belgrade today by counter-statements that the positions of Serbian Communists are clear and that they strive for Titoist, socialist and self-management Yugoslavia where the role of the Communists, for the time being, is essential.

In this context the Serbian Communist leadership strongly criticized some sections of the LCY for rejecting the Yugoslav and socialist criteria and for placing themselves, objectively, into the position of protectors of the Albanian separatists in the province of Kosovo.

Kosovo LC Presidium Assesses Differentiation

AU2306130789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 89 p 8

[TANJUG report: "In Some Communities There Has Been Open Resistance to Differentiation"]

[Text] Pristina, 16 Jun—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Kosovo has assessed that the activity so far in carrying through ideopolitical and work differentiation has achieved certain results in most areas of social life, but during this period there have been considerable blockages and resistance to differentiation in some communities.

It was concluded that activity in carrying through ideopolitical and work differentiation in the LC and other sociopolitical organizations, organs, and institutions in the province must be stepped up and consistently carried through by the middle of July.

It says in the statement that in all situations where the distribution of forces is such that concrete differentiation cannot be implemented because of overt or covert resistance, the Presidium will give help to the LC communal organizations and other entities. It was stressed at the session that ideopolitical and work differentiation and the establishment of accountability must be realized for the sake of the cadre and other training of all subjects of society in successfully uprooting the causes and consequences which have led to hostile activity in Kosovo. They must be aimed at discovering the essence of the platform of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Statement by the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee

In the present process of ideopolitical and work differentiation, an atmosphere has been created in many communities in which differentiation is seen only as the work of the Kosovo LC and its organs and bodies and that it is not necessary in other sociopolitical organizations and institutions. An atmosphere of expectation has been created in the economic systems and in composite organizations of associated labor of provincial importance.

Leading structures very often put all the blame for the unfavorable situation on the workers without sufficient argument, thereby, in fact, concealing their own mistakes and weaknesses in order to keep their posts. An assessment of the responsibility of the management structures in work organizations, but also of the collective responsibility of organs and organizations at the provincial level, has been avoided.

Particularly Expressed Resistance

The Communists in the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, the Council of the Trade Union Federation, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Youth Organization, the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Economic Chamber, and other provincial organs and organizations are responsible for consistently and comprehensively implementing the major tasks. The Presidium stressed in particular that the consistent realization of ideopolitical and work differentiation and the establishment of accountability has been unacceptably late in the sociopolitical organizations and organs of the province, in the working bodies and commissions of the Assembly and the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and in provincial institutions, organs, and organizations. There is no real and specific assessment of the collective and individual accountability of those who hold posts, for failure to implement the established stands for which deadlines have been set in the action program of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, it is stressed in the statement.

Resistance to carrying through differentiation in a number of organs and institutions in the field of education, science, culture, and information at the university in Pristina has been particularly expressed. In this connection, the Presidium has adopted essential measures for specific cadre changes in order to strengthen these organs and institutions and make them more capable.

It is also necessary to immediately take measures in order to train cadres and strengthen management structures at the level of Composite Organizations of Associated Labor of importance for the province, including measures for replacing people. Bearing all this in mind, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee has adopted specific stands and proposals binding all provincial bodies and it also demands that this be done at a communal level by all communal organizations.

This way of working will only be applied in those cases where there is no alternative and which involve organized opposition to the policy of the LC of Yugoslavia, particularly when it comes to nationalists in the ranks of the LC.

At today's expanded session that was chaired by Rahman Morina, the Presidium set deadlines in which these tasks must be concluded. It will be most directly involved in carrying out these tasks and will inform the public about this. It was also pointed out that there is a need to solve other importance questions more quickly, which above all involves cadre consolidation in sociopolitical structures, state organs, and associated labor. It was also shown that it is important to quickly allocate other tasks to those people who have been replaced from their posts and duties for various reasons.

Leaders Attend Kosovo Battle Movie Premiere

LD2206110789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0641 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—The premiere of the movie "The Battle of Kosovo" in the packed hall at the Sava Center in Belgrade last night was greeted with tumultuous and prolonged applause.

"The gala premiere of the movie made to mark the 600th anniversary of the battle at Kosovo was attended by prominent sociopolitical workers of the federation, the Republic of Serbia and the city of Belgrade, cultural and scientific personalities and artists, representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army and of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Those present included: Janez Drnovsek, Borislav Jovic, Slobodan Glicorijevic, Bogdan Trifunovic, Stanko Radmilovic, Milan Privic, Radmila Andjelkovic,

Desimir Jeftic, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Rados Smiljkovic, Dragan Tomic, and others. Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church also attended."

Kosovo Celebrations To Be Televised 28 Jun

AU2306113489

[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 22 June 89 on page 15 carries an approximately 1,000-word report by Branka Otasevic on Belgrade Television's planned coverage of celebrations for the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo on 28 June, entitled "On St Vitus Day—a Wide Screen."

The report quotes the director Moma Martinovic as saying: "At this moment it is still not known which of the re-run programs, educational serials, documentaries, and musical programs devoted to the Battle of Kosovo will also be included in this day-long coverage. We know that coverage will begin with the morning program at 0600 which will report on the atmosphere in Belgrade and the departure of groups to Kosovo, and include on-the-spot reporters. At 1030, the current affairs service will take over coverage and work in the same way. At this time the liturgical service conducted by Patriarch German will still be under way in Gracanica, or more precisely, in the monastery's courtyard, and we will probably have an approximately 30-minute live relay from the 3 and ½ hour service. There will be two outside-broadcast vans and seven cameras at Gracanica. We have agreed with the Patriarchate on occasional live relays of the service in which bishops and a choir of 200 singers are taking part. From time to time we will also show the people filing past the relics of Prince Lazar. During this time we will also be using 'fills' of inspirational poetry about Kosovo interpreted by our most famous actors, which have already been recorded in the studio by the director Andrija Djukic.

"The main live relay begins at 1250 from Gazi-Mestan. A large stage has been set up in this field next to the monument to the Kosovo heroes, in the middle of which the festivities' logo will be placed and in front of which there will be 3,000 seats. The television will cover the welcoming speech using 12 cameras and 3 outside-broadcast vans and then the shortened 30-minute version of the Passion of Holy Prince Lazar by the composer Rajko Maksimovic, which will be performed by the choir and symphony orchestra of Radio-Television Belgrade and the Branko Krsmanovic academic choir conducted by Darinka Matic-Marovic."

Martinovic goes on to say: "The team will also broadcast the requiem service to the Kosovo heroes led by Patriarch German at the side of the monument. In the evening, the main celebrations from Gazi-Mestan will be repeated on television and a special 90-minute program will be broadcast on everything that has happened that day and was not shown in the live relays."

Nis District Court Issues Ban on Youth Paper

LD1906162789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Nis, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Nis District Court today upheld a proposal by the district public prosecutor and made a ruling banning the distribution of the latest issue of GRAFIT, the paper of the Nis youth organization, for violating Article Two, Point Five of the law on measures to prevent abuses of press freedom and of other forms of information, and Article 142 of the Law on Public Information of the Serbian Socialist Republic.

Explaining the ruling, presiding judge Cvetko Knezevic said that an interview with Momo Kapor [a satirical writer] printed in GRAFIT on 9 June under the title "Profound Words of a Shallow Writer" offends the reputation of the SFRY Presidency and of its member, Stipe Suvar, and that in one part of it the Slovene people also were offended. According to the judge, this has disturbed the public.

The paper's publisher, Narodne Novine, has the right of appeal.

Novi Sad LC Issues 'Final Warning' to Krunic

LD2306090389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2318 GMT 23 June 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—After a 6-hour discussion in the first party organization of the League of Communists [LC] of the Novi Sad Prva Vojvodjanska Brigada local community late this evening, the ideopolitical measure of a final warning was meted out to the former president of the Yugoslav Communists, Bosko Krunic.

Two members of this party organization were expelled from the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], the formerly prominent Vojvodina officials Dusan Alimpic and Zivko Blagojev. A former member of the Vojvodina Presidency, Slavko Veselinov, received the ideopolitical measure of a final warning.

In a detailed report establishing the ideopolitical responsibility of these four former prominent officials, the severest measures were proposed—expulsion from the LCY. In the explanation it was explicitly stated that Blagojev, Veselinov, Alimpic, and Krunic had "in the most drastic way violated party documents and harmed the standing of LC members and that through their activity and ideas, they had come into conflict with the ideopolitical platform and the statutory principles of the LC and that the LC was no longer the place for them."

Zivko Blagojev, one of the four Communists whose ideopolitical responsibility was established, did not take part in the work of the basic party organization. He informed the secretary of the LC organization that he did not agree with the findings of the working group of the comrades' council and that he would reconcile himself to

whatever ideopolitical measure he received. In lengthy speeches, Slavko Veselinov, Dusan Alimpic, and Bosko Krunic pointed out certain inaccuricies and imprecise statements in the report of the comrades' council. Among other things, Bosko Krunic stressed that even today the LCY Central Committee did not have a definitive standpoint on protest meetings; yet, he said, on the basis of whether someone attended protest meetings or not, and what his attitude may be toward them, we are (?expelling people from the party). I behaved in keeping with the spirit of LC stances, and anyway what would you expect of a member of the LC other than he should respect LC stances.

In the discussion on the report by the comrades' council on the ideopolitical responsibility of Bosko Krunic some of the Communists of this party organization advocated a less severe measure than the one proposed by the comrades' council.

82 Vojvodina LC Members Replaced, Dismissed

AU1906202389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 89 p 5

[S. Stanojevic report: "Responsibility of 82 Officials"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 13 Jun—The list of people whose ideopolitical responsibility should be cleared up by the end of June at the latest, has expanded from 60 to 82 former officials. At its session chaired by Zivko Sokolovic, the Old Town Communal Committee of the League of Communists [LC] concluded that there is still some opportunism in individual basic LC organizations, so that the committee will have to pronounce some ideopolitical measures itself. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the debate at the session of the Stari Grad Communal LC Committee last night, Dusan Mirkov, member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee in charge of cadre policy, presented the following report on the course of cadre changes in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina since the October events:

Of all Vojvodina LC communal committees, 35 have been completely changed and 15 have replaced up to one-third of their members. All in all, 2,589 cadres in the Vojvodina LC, 25 representatives of Vojvodina LC to the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and 13 representatives to the LC of Yugoslavia have been replaced. Three hundred and thirty-seven people have resigned, 364 have been relieved of their duties [osloboditi duznosti], and 2,106 have been dismissed [razresiti duznosti].

Ivangrad Miners End Protest, Return to Work

LD2006142589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Summary] Ivangrad, 20 Jun (TANJUG)—Miners at the brown coal mine in Ivangrad today ended their 13-day strike and returned to work. The miners decided to return to work when they realized that there could be no pay increase unless there was increased production to finance it.

Montenegrin Assembly Views Titograd Events

LD2206102189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 21 June (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly yesterday removed the highly confidential label from the shorthand notes on the joint session of the top republican state and party leaderships, held on the night between 7 and 8 October last year, when the decision was passed to introduce urgent measures to prevent extraordinary circumstances in the muncipality of Titograd, in other words, when the green light was given for the use of force against the people.

Those measures, the Assembly stated, were introduced illegally because by verbally expressing their dissatisfaction with the general economic and socal situation in the republic and by making the demand for the resignation of its leaders the participants in the protest meeting in the capital city of Montenegro, could not, either on the October night in question nor later, have threatened the independence of the country, its sovereignty and territorial integrity or the constitutionally established social order.

The 105 pages of unauthorized shorthand notes from the session in question, which have been made accessible to the public from today, show that the former Montenegrin leaders made a different assessment of the situation which had arisen and some individuals even felt it to be a kind of occupation and were prepared, in order to protect their positions, to use all available kinds of force.

The session was presided over by Bozina Ivanovic, who was then the president of the Montenegrin Presidency.

"We are legal organs in a legal country," he said, "in a legal republic and we are responsible to our people. We must assess whether these really are the demands of the people (he was thinking of demands for resignations) or whether they are the demands of a group of people or individuals. It can clearly be discerned that there are certain emissaries who are speaking on behalf of other environments, who are speaking by agreement. In all probability this is not as naive as it seems; a well organized network which is functioning, which has political demands, and, as a political leadership we must take a stance with regard to these political demands."

Vidoje Zarkovic had the impression that "everything taking place in Titograd was a repetition of events in Novi Said. It had not come about spontaneously and a well-planned organization was behind it."

"I feel this to be a kind of occupation of Montenegro," said Milutin Tanjevic, adding: "Resignations are out of the question however high the price we have to pay."

Radovan Radonjic also said that everything possible must be done to avoid resignations.

Then other participants in this meeting, which was attended by about 40 of the most responsible officials of the republic and its representatives in the federal organs, put forward their opinions and assessments of the political situation which had arisen with the protest meeting in Titograd.

According to Slobodan Filipovic, the crucial thing at that moment is for the leadership to show it is resolute. He noted that it can count on the support of the great majority of the Montenegrin people. Filipovic was among the first to mention the possibility of introducing extraordinary measures because, as he stressed: "If we do not do this, I am not sure we will prevent Titograd from being the site, in essence, for a battle with who knows which enemies of this social system."

It seems to me that we should not hesitate or analyze too much. Things are fairly obvious and it is clear that it is up to us to see whether we are aware of that and whether we are prepared to pass a comprehensive decision with our integrity, to bear responsibility for whether the decision is right. In other words, the severe problem needs a severe remedy, Filipovic said.

Clearly supporting Filipovic's proposal, Veselin Djuranovic noted that in the "directives," measures were envisaged for preventing extraordinary circumstances and that, in his opinion, there was a need to undertake such measures. This proposal was supported by Miljan Radovic and Dobroslav Culafic, who also proposed that the commander of the corps [not further elaborated] should lend assistance to the police in order to ensure the security facilities of the republic. He also mentioned that in no time at all he could call Mikulic and everything would be all right. [passage omitted]

Asking to speak again, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed that the Montenegrin leadership had before it two alternatives. One was to surrender and the other was to resist and to take the corresponding measures. He was of the opinion that the second alternative was the only acceptable one.

Savo Sekaric stressed his conviction that the resoluteness of the people and citizens would bring the leadership into a position where sooner or later it would have to submit its resignation. [passage omitted]

Lazar Djodjic maintained that the Montenegrin Presidency could proclaim a state of emergency. He also pointed to the danger from groups from other parts of the republic and from outside the republic who, according to information which was available to him, were making their way in buses to Titograd, and he proposed that the capital of Montenegro be sealed off, stating that he himself could give the order for this.

Miljan Radovic proposed that, as well as sealing off Titograd, similar measures should be taken in all the municipalities of Montenegro in order to prevent the arrival of groups who were allegedly already on the way to Titograd.

Slobodan Filipovic noted that if an organ of public order and peace gives an instruction, it must be respected and carried out. If, however, the forces of public order and peace are insufficient, then assistance must be sought from other forces, including the Army, said Filipovic.

Miljan Radovic then proposed that the right place should be determined for measures to be taken for preventing buses from Kosovo and other areas from coming to Titograd. In response to this, Milutin Tanjevic noted that this should be left to the security forces. Radovic warned that a decision like this must be made by the Montenegrin Presidency, and Marko Orlandic stated: "We can seal off the town without that as long as we realize that if one takes it to its conclusion there could be casualties."

Following this, Bozina Ivanovic said that the Presidency should pass a decision on proclaiming extraordinary conditions and measures to be taken and should inform all the proponents of the plan for extraordinary conditions about this. In keeping with our directives we can push such a decision, but we must inform the SFRY Presidency, said Ivanovic.

After Veselin Djuranovic intervened by saying that a decision on a state of emergency can be made only by the SFRY Presidency, Bozina Ivanovic cited parts of the document stating that the Montenegrin Presidency can decide to take measures established in plans for extraordinary conditions as well as other measures of preparedness without an announcement to the SFRY Presidency. This was also confirmed by Milan Radovic, who stressed that the Montenegrin Presidency, with the agreement of the League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium of the republic, can decide to take measures in Montenegro under the plan for preparedness and the plan for extraordinary conditions without a decree of the SFRY Presidency, if a situation has arisen which demands that such measures be taken. He asked those present to make clear their views on the decision according to which the Montenegrin Presidency, with the agreement of the LC Central Committee Presidium and in the presence of representatives of the republican Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, would pass a decision on the introduction of the measures mentioned. Radovic concluded that everything should be done in order to implement them, except the use of firearms.

In the shorthand notes themselves the speeches of certain participants in the meeting, depending on the quality of the tape recording, are not quoted in their entirety, sentences are given incompletely, and neither do the notes show how the actual voting on the introduction of the measures went. As is known, this decision was passed by the Montenegrin Presidency, and it is also known how the decision was later implemented.

POBJEDA of Titograd started to publish lengthy excerpts from these shorthand notes today and it has indicated that it will do the same for the next few days.

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